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Arctic peoples
heat up on
three continents
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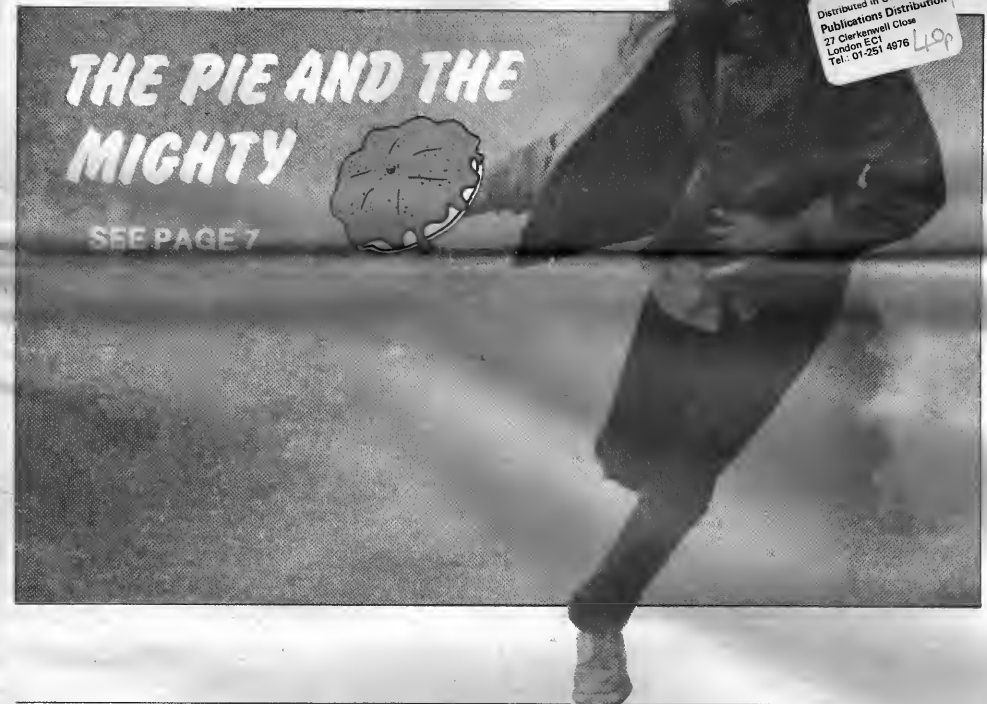
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OpenRoad

60c

Issue Four Fall 1977



Hell no, we won't glow
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Putting the boots to the storm troopers
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OPENERS

The magazine devoted to total anarchy.

Junk Mail Organizing

You can imagine the surprise of British Columbia bankworkers who had just organized themselves into the Service, Office and Retail Workers Union of Canada when they received invitations in the mail at their places of work to join a rival union.

But that's how these pork-chopper unions work: let somebody else—in this case, the small, feminist union SORWUC—do the hard spadework, then attempt to skim off the cream with a media-blitz-type organizing campaign.

Many of the letters, marked "personal" and addressed to "the office staff," were intercepted by the bank branch managers and posted on bulletin boards in an attempt to sow confusion among the workers.

So far, however, neither the rival union nor the bosses have been able to undo what SORWUC accomplished: win the first-ever certification from the Canada Labour Relations Board to represent workers at a Canadian bank.

SORWUC succeeded where its larger, better-heeled rivals failed, because of its insistence that the bank workers—mainly women—do their own organizing with minimal help from outside. (See Open Road, No. 2, Spring 1977).



SORWUC has been certified at a dozen bank branches in B.C., but that's only the first hurdle; the hard job of collective bargaining for a first contract is yet to begin. To learn more about SORWUC's anti-bureaucratic approach to union organizing, contact SORWUC Union contact SORWUC Local No. 2, Bankworkers Local No. 2, Room 1114, 207 West Hastings, Vancouver, B.C.



Three locked-down veterans of the war against U.S. cultural imperialism in North America brought together in Marion (Ill.) federal prison: (from left) black militant Herman Beland, American Indian Movement activist Leonard Candel, and Puerto Rican nationalist Rafael Candel. Candel, who was one of four Puerto Ricans to shoot up the U.S. Congress in 1954, is among the longest-serving political prisoners in the U.S.

Animal Activists Caged

Two more Animal Liberationists have gone to jail in England rather than promise to sit idly by while a bunch of ruling class "sportsmen" demonstrate their virility against those ferocious foxes and rabbits.

The two, Sue Hough and Valery Waters, will serve up to a month in Holloway Prison as a result of incidents in which they were assaulted by hunters and their personal belongings vandalized. Both Hough and Waters were jailed because they refused to stay away from the hunt

while their cases were being adjudicated.

But that's the way it goes in the anti-species movement, a burgeoning grass-roots phenomenon which has made use of some quite creative tactics: rescuing foxes and experimental animals, confounding hunting dogs with phoney scents, destroying animal laboratory equipment, torching seal-hunting boats, and conducting search-and-destroy missions in department store sporting goods departments.

Many Animal Liberationists have been attacked

physically by hunters, and several have gone to jail, including two from the Band of Mercy who served a year each for various guerrilla actions.

For more on how to battle human chauvinism, contact the Hunt Saboteurs Association, PO Box 19, Tonbridge, Kent, England.

Bulgarian Anarchist "Retired"

Christo Kolev is a 66-year-old Bulgarian who is spending his retirement in his quiet native village of Balvan. Trouble is, he would rather be in Sofia and other hot spots spreading the gospel of revolutionary anarchism.

Kolev was banished to Balvan three years ago by the Bulgarian Stalinist regime after making an inflammatory speech at the funeral of a comrade. Since the end of the Second World War, he has spent a total of 11 years in prison and labor camps for anarchist agitation and for heavy involvement in "illegal" strikes and other workers' struggles.

Letters of solidarity to Christo Kolev, Balvan (Velik Tmovo), Bulgaria. More info on an international campaign of support for Bulgarian anarchists from T. Liddle, Gregory Crescent, London SE9 5RZ, England.

Roadside Notes

THE WHOLE THING

Dear Open Road,

We are very excited by the paper and would like to offer comments and criticism about the last issue.

First, I would like to echo the comments of the "Northwest Sisters of the Cowen to Smash Class" and applaud your idea to do an issue on anarcho-feminist politics. The anarcho-feminist community, too, is working against authoritarianism, party-building tendencies within the feminist movement, and to emphasize the connections between the feminist and anarchist approach to revolution. (By now you've probably seen Zero, the new anarcho-feminist paper from London.)

I am a member of a lesbian anarchist-feminist printing collective, "The Whole Thing" from San Francisco. We haven't been together for too long but have plans for a journal in the near future to bring together past, present, and future writings about anarcho-feminist "theory". (We would love contributions of suggestions, information, and writings for this effort.)

Coming from this perspective I would like to say that the photo on p. 13 for

the article "Peeling Away the Taboo" is very offensive to me. Not only does it portray the worst image of hip-patriarchal nuclear families, offensive to both anarchism and feminism, but the image of a simpering woman and child hanging and dependent on a man is made no less obnoxious by the long hair nor the nudity.

In general, the paper conspicuously lacks a feminist outlook. This outlook must go much deeper than articles about the activities of anarchist women. It must also include an overall sensitivity to the first hierarchy, that of males over females. If anarchists neglect a real understanding and practice of feminism, then it will fail, as it will ignore the oppression and needs of over half the human race and it will miss a grasp of the hierarchy upon which all others have been patterned for at least the last 10,000 years.

My second major complaint is about the article on the NWLF (New World Liberation Front). Despite your mentioning the NWLF's "fuck-ups" concerning authoritarianism, feminism and homosexuality, I still was left feeling that they were just that—"fuck-ups". The NWLF is expressly, rabidly Marxist-Leninist.

"We feel that homosexuality is a reactionary state that appears mostly in the privileged class. Homosexuals, both male and female, are reactionary toward the opposite sex and their confusion comes out many times as hostility. . . . Reactionary homosexuals are lonely, self-centered people who view sex as all-important."

This is only one example of the anti-gay, anti-feminist tripe issued by the NWLF's Central Command. Their "incorrect line" on these issues is part of their whole authoritarian, hierarchical, patriarchal, elitist approach to politics. Basically if the NWLF took over tomorrow gay people (and perhaps all women) at least would be in the same position as the Kronstadt sailors were in under Bolshevism, the anarchists in Spain under the communist party and the Jews and Czechs under the Soviet communist party now. The way in which the NWLF could get over their "fuck-ups" is to get over their hierarchical, vanguardist politics. (No amount of successful bombings is gonna offset the bullshit they've put out in the eyes of feminists and queers, or anyone else with a libertarian outlook.) I think we'd be better off not trying to

build a false unity with pigs. You'd do much better to run more articles on people really trying to fight authoritarianism instead of apologising for the worst Marxist-Leninism has to offer.

Lastly, the letter from Ted Lopez mentions "third worldism" of the left. I think what could be mistaken for an obsession with Third Worldism (and women for that matter) is actually Leninism. It comes from the idea of "vanguardism" which tries to determine the "leading struggles" in the world political situation and then attempts to insert its own "line" into these struggles to exploit the resources, energy and spirit of these people's struggles to achieve its own end—authoritarian State capitalism. (Unfortunately this has succeeded in many cases. Many Marxist-Leninist "revolutionary leaders" in the Third World countries have been educated in white patriarchal Western European countries.) But in my experience of those so supposedly obsessed with the struggles of Third World people and/or women, they continue to act in the most blatantly (and insidiously) racist and sexist ways. My feeling is that they don't give a fuck about Third World people or women anywhere except in their prefatorial lobes and would sell them out in a minute if the Central Committee decided it was expedient. (You'll notice the new ruling elite of the

"People's Republic of China" has no women or anyone under sixty years old. The first two movements to be sold out there in the sauce of State capitalism were the women's and youth movements—not to mention all the rest of the people of China.)

My feeling is that as anarchists we need to have real love, concern and solidarity with people fighting to build a new world and not that which is expedient. We need to have understanding in our hearts and souls (not just our brains) as to our connections to each other. Keep up your wonderful work.

Shim

San Francisco, Ca.

ABBIE & JERRY

Dear Friends/Comrades, Here in West Germany the current interest is concentrated on Jerry Rubin. You did an article on this, and here this interest has quite a new character because new letters, anarchists, or as they are now usually called "Spontis" are now discovering the U.S. counter-cultural scene, because before they did the more traditional stuff. But that seems to have failed.

Hello, I love you. Manfred Knobloch Hamburg, West Germany.

Dear Comrades, . . . "Abbie and Jerry"—who gives a stale fart about those stale farts? . . . Ed Clark Oakland, Ca.

GUILLEN

Dear Comrades of the Open Road,

Very glad that you are continuing in the same spirit as you began, as Issue Three shows. It is filled with interesting reading. Re Spain, one hopes that the grown-up youth movement will see to it that the compromises that many of the older spokesmen of our movement have become involved in during the civil war, will not be repeated.

Ken Ascaso's review of Abraham Guillen's "Strategy of the Urban Guerrilla", in which a union of Marx and Bakunin is put forward—with no criticism by Ascaso, or of the collective of Open Road, left me uneasy. A careful reading of the volume "The First International: Minutes of the Hague Conference of 1872" edited and translated by Hans Gerth, and published by the University of Wisconsin Press in 1958 (and of which contents the pamphlet "Marxism and a Free Society" is a summary) offers ample proof as to why such a union can only serve to confuse those who seek the truth. And the literature of every school of Marxism likewise attests to the manner in which they emulate Marx's and Bebel's contemptible misdeeds towards Bakunin's anti-authoritarian ideas, let alone to hundreds of thousands of anarchists imprisoned by every existing marxian government! Marcus Graham

Italy: the streets are up for grabs

By Fred Mobil

A senior police official got it half-right when he characterized the current uproar in Italy to a reporter as follows: "We are in a gradual and decentralized version of France's May 1968. Italy is a much more flexible society, so it takes longer for it (impending collapse) to show up."

It looks a lot like '68 in Italy these days, if you concentrate on the mass mobilizations of young people, their attacks (physical, even) on the sell-out and sectarian Left, their direct action tactics against the police and the business elite, their counter-culture disdain of all stripes of ideology and authority.

But the Italian Spring of '77, which resulted in the fiercest street fighting seen in Rome and other major centres since the Second World War, has thrust onto the proscenium of political drama a whole new cast of characters whose revolutionary potential was only hinted at in '68.

Among these new actors:

—The Metropolitan Indians, costumed and war-painted, heirs of the Provos and the Yippies. They are militantly "anti-political," and their heavily-pointed derisive slogans are aimed not only at capitalism (as in '68), but at the anti-capitalists as well: "Long Live Sacrifice," "More Work, Less Pay," "Bosses' Power," etc.

—The "autoriduttori" self-appointed price-cutters who are building a movement based on printing their own bus and theatre tickets and electricity bills and ransacking supermarkets and other business establishments in order to expropriate the surplus on behalf of themselves (the consumers).

—The autonomous groups beyond number and description, bringing together society's "unwashed"—the homosexuals, the feminists, the rank-and-file workers—and steering a spontaneous, irreverent and anti-authoritarian course independent of all parties and politics.

Emarginated Workers

But there's an even newer

element: the whole army of "emarginated" workers, former workers and never-were workers who have been jettisoned by the wage economy in this hour of Italian capitalism's crisis. They are the sons and



Italian street scenes: from Metropolitan Indians to urban guerrillas.

daughters of southern peasants, the survivors of the big city ghettos, the "lower middle" clerks and shop-workers who have lost their job security (some call them the lumpen-bourgeoisie) and, increasingly, they are the "criminal" elements who are finally starting to get a clue.

As the Italian journal *Anarchismo* noted (in a report sent to *Open Road*):

"The minorities, which have been excluded from the right to work, have found themselves in the ghettos prepared for them by the capitalist bosses. They were given no alternative except that of accepting to be turned into criminals. . .

"But if this criminal blossoming had been anticipated by the ruling class, they had not anticipated, on the contrary, the process of politicization of the criminal

elements, a process which has been realized following the propaganda aimed in this direction, and following the strong presence of comrades in the prisons."

The difference between '68 and '77 is put another way by a member of one of the autonomous feminist groups: "May '68 was the revolution of the privileged, the sons of well-to-do parents. '77, on the other hand, is mainly the revolt of the desperate, the unemployed of today and tomorrow, the proletariat" (quoted in the British anarchist journal *Zero*).

Again, unlike '68, the new movement has accepted no leaders, and no mediation by

political organizations, even those of the ultra-Left wing (which includes the anarchist groups). There is a definite turning away from the heroes of the past. Che is lumped in with Marx, and Colin Bendit is just another name.

"Today, the fringe groups of 1977, the homosexuals, the feminists, the unemployed, the autonomous groups, the anarchists, have no representatives," says one Metropolitan Indian (quoted in *Zero*).

"The movement must find its expression only in the assemblies and in the streets, through the different and equally important voices of all who have something to say. No bureaucracy, not even symbolic. No vanguard, just autonomous action."

This autonomous action had been gestating through long months in many corners

of Italy, but it exploded in its highly characteristic way in early Spring on the main university campuses.

University Parking Lots

The reason: it had finally dawned on the tens of thousands of working class and peasant young people that the post-'68 reforms opening the university to them had become merely a convenient way for the State to park a large number of unemployables for a couple of years. Already, one-third of unemployed youth in Italy were graduates of universities or colleges, and now Big Capital was pushing further austerity measures to make the working class pay for the dislocations caused by the Vietnam War and the profiteering of the multi-national energy cartels.

The fuse was lit when the Christian Democrat State education authorities attempted to take back some of the concessions they had yielded in '68-'69 by instituting a "block" system of degree programs under which the majority of students would be shunted out of the university after two years into underpaid and precarious employment.

The resulting massive student protests during the winter and early Spring brought violent retaliation from the police and the armed fascist vigilante squads. The series of shootings that set the course of future events took place on February 1, when a group of fascists armed with hand guns entered the University of Rome and wounded two students, one of them critically.

This outrage occurred in full view of the police, who took no action. The next day, during an officially-sanctioned protest against the shootings, 3,000 people broke away from the main assembly and took to the streets, attacking the fascist headquarters with molotov cocktails and rocks.

On their way back to the university, the students were themselves attacked by police in civilian clothes, with the result that two students were wounded and subsequently arrested for carrying arms. That was the final straw.

Two days later, the University of Rome campus was occupied by the students. The police, with the aid of collaborationist Communist Party hoodlums, surrounded the campus and laid siege for two weeks, but failed to break the occupation.

The movement reached out to energize thousands and then tens of thousands of people over a wide spectrum of society. While the movement had no clearly-defined political focus, all the disparate groups and individuals were united in their resistance to the curbs, whether in the university, on the job, in housing, transportation, consumer goods or essential social and public services.

By mid-March, the resistance had become a virtual revolutionary counter-attack. For four days (March 13-16), the entire country was convulsed by an unprecedented wave of street fighting in response to the killing in Bologna of a militant of the vanguardist Lotta Continua by the police during a demonstration.

In Bologna, Rome, Milan and Turin and even in the South, a hundred thousand partisans of the new movement engaged in military struggle with the forces or order. Processions of people would come under fire from the police and the military, they would draw back, break into small groups, flow around the police barricades, reform on the other side, put up their own barricades, stand and fight, then disappear in the darkness.

The entire population was on the offensive, choosing and mastering the urban terrain, checkingmate the superior fire-power of the State with its own mobility and spontaneity, hammering out tactics and strategy in street-level "battal committees" and coordinating all the sectors via a network of pirate radio stations.

As one bourgeois (naturally hostile) newspaper described it on one particular day:

"For seven hours Rome was in the grips of full-scale urban warfare. The gunshops were ransacked for firearms, innumerable shops, cafes and hotels were damaged, and hundreds of cars and many buses were smashed up, overturned or burnt. . . Signor Francesco Cossiga, the Interior Minister, described their actions as 'a prearranged and criminal plan of guerrilla source,' and the youths certainly gave that impression. They moved deliberately and without emotion, calmly doing as much damage as possible."

Calm of Beirut

Eventually, calm returned to the cities (some said it was like the calm of Beirut). Partly, it was the result of the martial law tactics of the authorities, but in large measure, it was due to the campaign of slander and vilification waged by the Communist Party in its desperate attempt to drive a wedge between the new movement and the great mass of Italian workers.

Like the other Eurocommunist parties (Spain, France, even Mexico), the Italian CP hopes to grab electoral power by proving to the real bosses of the country that it can tame the working class

continued on p. 19

On the Road

Having survived the summer doldrums, a depleted collective, overwork and underfun, our fortunes seem to be on the rise once more. New people are coming around and expressing interest in working with us. The response to Issue No. 3 was gratifying and compensated us somewhat for missing one of the best (meaning rainless) summers Vancouver has had in quite a while.

As far as money goes, our sustainer campaign has gotten off to a promising start: fourteen individuals and groups contributed \$50 each in response to our ad in Issue No. 3. Our goal is 100 sustainers, so we still have quite a ways to go; that's why we're pulling out all the stops in the campaign this issue (see ad, page 7).

Up to now, we have made up any shortfalls by passing the hat among friends, but contributions in all amounts are now urgently needed if we are to continue this anti-authoritarian publishing project. For the record, our expenses for this issue (covering a three month period) are roughly: printer, \$1300; typesetting, \$400; office rent, \$400; and mailing, \$600.

Our mailing list is growing as word spreads; but for distribution we rely heavily on individuals and groups in various

cities. These people pass *The Open Road* onto their friends, sell it at demonstrations and meetings and take it to local bookstores. We appreciate the work that people do in getting the paper out. If you would like to distribute for us or know of a bookstore that is not carrying *The Open Road*, please write to us. (By the way, Issue No. 1 is completely sold out.)

A contact list of North American anti-authoritarian groups (periodicals, bookstores, political collectives, . . .) will be published in the next issue of *The Open Road*. If you're not on our mailing list but would like to be included in the contact listing (or are on it and wouldn't like to be included) let us know soon.

We will send *The Open Road* to anyone who requests it.

We have no subscription rates and depend on readers' donations. Address all requests, correspondence, and contributions to: *The Open Road*, Box 6135, Station G, Vancouver, B.C., Canada

CPers Molotoved

On Feb. 17, 2,000 CPers and running-dog trade union bureaucrats staged a deliberately provocative rally on campus at which head porkchopper Luciano Lama denounced the occupiers as criminals and called on the police to shut down the centres of subversion. Lama & Co. were driven off campus by 2,000 autonomia (members of autonomous groups) armed with molotov cocktails, iron belts and paving stones.

From this point, the conflict started to spread, and

Quebec syndicalists in squeeze

Libertarians and syndicalists in North America's most combative and anti-bureaucratic mass-based union federation are caught between a rock and a hard place as a result of an attempted Maoist takeover of the federation.

On the one hand, they don't want to give aid and

of militant direct action and syndicalist agitation in heavy industry and the white collar trades.

Maoist groups, especially the Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist), targeted the decentralized CNTU in hopes of vaulting into the vanguard of the Quebec workers' movement.

charged with a firearms violation.)

In the process of infiltration, though, the Maoists gained quite a few enemies, and not all among the bad guys. As one CNTU militant with a syndicalist orientation notes, a number of local unions have become so fed-up with Maoist tactics

democratic.

"The reaction from the workers is more a critique of how they operate, rather than their political orientation. Although, you could say they operate that way because of their politics."

Maoists Recruit Cadre

While the Maoists dismiss

CNTU militant. "For them, if you join the party you shut your mouth. At least with the Trotskyists you can talk a little."

About 75 per cent of the Maoist membership is students, ex-students and ex-professionals, such as doctors and teachers, many of whom have gone to work in fac-

at \$400,000, and it owns three printing presses. Two other Maoist groups spend a total of about \$400,000, while the two main Trotskyist groups (now undergoing amalgamation) spend a total of \$100,000. (All figures are public, having been published in the straight press.) There is no organized libertarian presence in the Quebec industrial arena, but many anti-authoritarian militants are involved in the CNTU.

The conflict with the Maoists finally boiled over at the CNTU's summer congress where the federation leadership, which is mostly social-democratic, suggested that the constituent unions should be "autonomous from all political groups... that officers and militants shouldn't subordinate the unions to political groups."

The leadership's initiative coincided with publication of a 15-part series of articles in *La Presse*, the mouthpiece of Quebec privilege, which detailed Maoist activities within the CNTU. The result was a witch-hunt atmosphere in which the Maoists successfully appealed for solidarity among all Left forces, ensuring the defeat of the motion.

"Syndicalists and libertarians were caught in a bind," says the CNTU syndicalist. "They couldn't support an anti-Red measure. But that leaves the authoritarians just where they were."

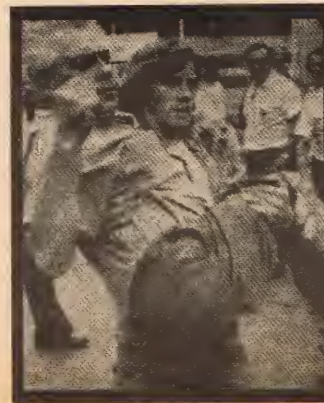
Social Democratic Challenge

As if that wasn't enough of a problem, the CNTU is also facing a challenge from Quebec's ruling political party, the Parti Quebecois. The PQ, which is seeking an autonomous or even independent social democratic role for Quebec within the framework of North American capitalism, would like to tame the working class movement into accepting a British-style "social pact" aimed at dampening wage demands.

So far, the CNTU has taken the strongest stand of any Quebec labor federation against collaboration. But the PQ can be seductive: it is bringing in the strongest anti-scarce legislation in North America and is working on other measures (patterned after British Columbia, which has copied Sweden) to strengthen the hands of unions in organizing drives.

"The PQ is not yet a party, it is still a movement," says a Quebec journalist. "It contains nationalists of many stripes, including those with strong allegiance to the workers' movement. That's why the broad base of the party is still able to impose such measures on the leadership. How long this situation will last is the question."

To keep up on Quebec affairs, check with **Our Generation**, English-language libertarian journal, 3934 rue St. Urban, Montreal, Que., or **Zone Libre**, French-language monthly produced by a collective of leftist journalists, 1715 rue Panet, Montreal, Que.



Goon prepares to fire on CNTU workers during strike at Robin Hood flour mill in Montreal (right); wounded striker carried off by comrade (left). Goons wounded seven workers, but only got their wrists slapped by authorities.

comfort to the red-baiting witchhunt being whipped up by the straight media. But on the other, they are repelled by the increasingly authoritarian and opportunistic initiatives of the Maoist factions.

The federation involved is Quebec's Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU), composed of 300,000 members with a rich history

By placing its militants into key locals the Maoists managed to play a role in a number of militant confrontations between the CNTU and the bosses and police, the most recent one being a strike at the Robin Hood flour mill in Montreal during which seven workers were shot and wounded by goons. (The goons have since been

that they have threatened to withdraw from the CNTU unless the Maoists are purged.

"What can you do with the League?" he says. "You can't talk to them rationally. As soon as they get into a position of strength they start to throw their weight around, they become very intimidating, very anti-

the current phase of the workers' struggle as merely economist and defensive, they are nevertheless cynically using the CNTU as one of their main recruiting grounds for cadre. Their consuming interest now is in building the new 'proletarian party.'"

"They are very 1930's left-wing, very Stalinist," says the

total membership is kept secret. But the CCL(ML) is capable of pulling out 1,500 people to march under its banners.

The Maoists finance their activities through a dues system, amounting to between five and 20 per cent of members' income. The CCL(ML) has an annual budget in Quebec estimated

Sweden rolls up 'red carpet'

Sweden's image as a haven for political outcasts is becoming a bit tarnished these days in light of the new Conservative government's illegal crackdown on politically-active aliens.

Seven foreigners were summarily kicked out of the country recently following a massive series of raids and arrests in all major centres in April, and none of them got a hearing, as required by law. As well, their dossiers were stamped secret, and can't be opened for 50 years.

The raids, which resulted in about 30 arrests, were allegedly aimed at stifling a plot to kidnap a former Swedish cabinet minister and barter her for the release of Red Army Faction (Baader-Meinhof gang) members imprisoned in West Germany.

Two of those extradited, including alleged June 2 Movement member Norbert Erich Kroecher, were dispatched into the hands of West German authorities. Two others, a Chilean and a Mexican, were deported even though they face execution in their native countries. The others expelled were another

Mexican, a Greek woman and an Englishman.

At least seven Swedes have been held virtually incommunicado since the raids while awaiting trials which have been postponed several times for lack of evidence. They have not been told the exact nature of the charges against them, nor are their lawyers permitted to make public statements or even to examine all the documents in the case.

Kidnap Plot

As far as is known, the seven are not actually being charged with active involvement in the kidnap plot, but, according to their comrades, with "having sympathized or been in contact with somebody who eventually had those plans to make a kidnap."

The authorities say the plot involved the planned abduction of former Social Democratic Immigration Minister Anna-Greta Leijon, who in 1975 had ordered the extradition of seven foreigners arrested following an armed assault by RAF

guerrillas on the West German embassy in Stockholm. The assault, in which a guerrilla and two diplomats were killed during a counter-attack by Swedish police, was aimed at forcing the release of 26 RAF comrades imprisoned at home.

One of those extradited in 1975, Siegfried Hausner, died of his wounds while being transported back to West Germany. Four others were also sent back to West Germany to face trial, and two Japanese were deported on the grounds they had entered Sweden with false passports and were taking photographs outside a building housing the embassies of Austria, Uruguay, Somalia, Lebanon, Bangladesh and Iceland.

The Swedish government says the kidnap plot was concocted by a group called the Siegfried Hausner Kommando. Among the exhibits it displayed to the news media was a coffin drilled with air holes, ostensibly intended for the kidnap.

During the embassy siege, Swedish officials proved themselves to be completely under the sway of their Ger-

man counterparts, and they subordinated their own State to those of their powerful neighbor. German police were on the scene immediately to question the captured guerrillas, and even the straight news media were critical of the unseemly haste with which the Swedish authorities deported the guerrillas.

It shouldn't have surprised them, though, because, despite its liberal posturing on foreign issues and its claims to humanitarian scruples at home, the Swedish government has been cozying up to West Germany for some time now. (Reminds you of Canada vis-a-vis the U.S.) Bonn, after all, is the dominant outside force in the Swedish economy.

Repressive Laws Enacted

Even under the former social democratic regime, which had granted asylum to 700 U.S. army deserters in the late '60's, the screws were starting to turn. By 1970, the government was starting to squeeze out the resident Black Panthers, who were

alleged to have made contact with Swedish anarchists and in 1973 it enacted a law which gave it power to expel "potential foreign terrorists" and otherwise interfere with the rights of foreigners suspected of being members or sympathizers of groups engaged in armed struggle. The pretext for the law was a perceived threat by right-wing Croatian nationalists and Palestinians.

One of the seven Swedes being held is a 21-year-old libertarian, Ted Bergstrom, who is likely to be charged with placing a bomb outside the Spain Tour travel office in Stockholm in 1975 as a protest against the execution of five anarchists in Spain. His defense will rest in part on the international outrage provoked by the executions, but his comrades urgently need to know what other protests took place.

Send all materials to **BRAND**, Box 15030; 10465 Stockholm; Sweden. Bergstrom can be contacted directly (he reads and writes English) at Box 12106; 10223 Stockholm, Sweden.

Fish chowder feeds no-nukes ...

By Hagbard Celine

A veritable seafood chowder of anti-nuclear coalitions is spreading across North America in the wake of the highly publicized occupation of the Seabrook, N.H. reactor site last Mayday by the Clamshell Alliance.

Many of the new groups have already swung into action with occupations of their own, and in most cases they have adopted the kind of decentralized organizational model which Clamshell put to such good use in bankrupting the New Hampshire state treasury.

Anti-Authoritarian Movement

The new movement is feeding on the excitement caused by Clamshell, coupled with frustration over the last few years of fruitless "legal" (i.e., the courts and the ballot box) battles. But its main nourishment up to now has been gathered from an anti-authoritarian consciousness that extends beyond anything manifested in the anti-war movement and the New Left.

On the West Coast, three groups—the Crabshell Alliance in Washington state, Abalone in California and the Trojan Decommissioning Alliance in Oregon—formed within a few weeks of Seabrook. (Groups in other regions, with fish-sounding names like the Catfish and Oyster Shell Alliances, also got started at the same time.)

The Crabshell Alliance staged a demonstration of 700 people in Elma, Wash., close to the site of the proposed Satsop twin plant, on July 19th. The others generally waited for Hiroshima Day, August 6th, and did simultaneous demon-

strations which drew thousands of people across the country and resulted in several hundred arrests. All are planning larger occupations for the near future.

In terms of an organizational model, the new alliances have drawn heavily on the forms developed by Clamshell. The non-violent occupation has been the primary tactic discussed thus far; and a heavy emphasis has been placed on locally autonomous, decentralized structures. The affinity group appears to be the preferred organizational form for actions; many groups are considering integrating the structure into their community organizing as well.

Sixties' Veterans

The persistent demand for non-hierarchical, manageably-sized working groups reflects a high awareness of the importance of process among many of the people joining the anti-nuke movement. A large number of those who are getting involved are veterans of the struggles of the 60's, many of whom have spent the intervening years largely outside of sectarian left politics, working in food co-ops, health clinics, and other collectives and small community organizations.

The sudden re-appearance of this veritable political underground of the '60's Movement has brought with it ten years' wealth of organizing knowledge and experience, and an insistent rejection of centralized forms of organization. As a result, consensus has replaced voting as the decision-making process in most of the alliances, and people are beginning to challenge the whole language,



Fence at Trident nuclear submarine base at Bangor, Wash., gets haave-ho during anti-nuke demonstration by Pacific Life Community.

as well as the structures, of traditional organization.

For example, at the Crabshell Conference held in Olympia, Washington, on August 20th and 21st, objections were consistently raised whenever someone began talking about "leaders" or "leadership roles". The group's "Steering Committee" was done away with, and replaced by a commu-

nity group whose membership will be rotated frequently, and whose function is restricted solely to facilitating information flow between the various local groups. Specific functions that need to be carried out are taken on by a task force which disbands when it has completed its task. Most of the work to be carried on will occur within the local organizations.

The role of non-violence is also being debated widely. Two general tendencies exist: those who see non-violence as a philosophy or way of life, and those who see it merely as a tactic, an effective way to draw masses of people into confrontation with the State without causing massive bloodshed. Within these two tendencies, there is also debate over whether "vio-

lence" includes property destruction, or only acts of violence against humans and animals. (See accompanying anti-nuke article.)

Liberal Leadership Resisted

The relationship of these alliances with other groups also remains to be seen. An early summer meeting in Washington, D.C. of over 100 "heavies" of the anti-war movement discussed the planning of a year-long campaign against nuclear power, to be called the Mobilization for Survival. Although the meeting represented the pooling of considerable resources from the left liberal community to join the fight against nukes, it also represented the formation of a self-appointed liberal "leadership" of the sort which much of the anti-nuclear movement has pledged to resist from the outset.

The anti-nuke movement is still young, its possibilities relatively undeveloped, and mistakes are bound to be made. But the possibility of joining in a struggle which is not only a clear matter of survival, but also a process in which everyone can become a direct participant in their own present and future, is the key to the future success of this new anti-authoritarian movement.

(To turn on to the anti-nuke movement on the West Coast, contact the Crabshell Alliance, 610 33rd Ave., Seattle, Wash. 98122; the Trojan Decommissioning Alliance, 215 SE 9th Ave., Portland, Ore. 97214; the Abalone Alliance, PO Box 1598, San Luis Obispo, Calif. 93406, or the Pacific Life Community, 335 Eighth St., New Westminster, B.C.

... But next course needs recipe

A sharp debate is beginning to develop within the growing anti-nuclear movement on both sides of the Atlantic over the appropriateness of some of the tactics and organizing methods that have dominated up to now.

The debate has tended to divide pacifists from those who would defend themselves against State-invoked violence, but a more fundamental issue is, who makes the decisions as to the tactical and strategic direction of the anti-nuke movement, and how are these decisions made?

Critics of the established leadership (in Europe, especially France, it's largely liberal ecology groups who run the show, in the States, it's Quakers and pacifists) insist that the much-vaunted decentralization and democracy is a grass-roots phenomenon that does not run very deep.

They say the leadership has actively suppressed all organic discussion of any tactics other than non-violence and civil disobedience, even to the point of exposing thousands of unprepared people to violent attacks by

the police and military. This criticism doesn't only come from militant Leftists, it has also been voiced by radical pacifist groups, such as the British anarchist journal Peace News.

Militants Ostracized
A case in point: At Malville, France, where 60,000 people gathered on July 31

for one of the largest non-violent demonstrations in the history of Europe, the heavily-armed riot police began lobbing tear gas and explosive fragmentary grenades into crowds of peaceably milling people at a distance of 600 yards, wounding scores of people and killing one demonstrator.

The Malville organizers, mainly Les Amis de la Terre (Friends of the Earth) had insisted the demonstration would be non-violent. They even ostracized and attempted to drive away the 4,000 or so people who came equipped with hard hats and gas masks as a simple defensive measure.

When the police started to attack, the organizers' primitive communications system broke down nearly immediately. The militants tried to defend themselves with sticks and stones, but the great mass of people were simply immobilized on a hillside overlooking the scene, as if it were a war movie.

Peace News adds: "When the whole crowd was gathered in a field, up to our ankles in mud, the organizers announced that they had decided nothing more could be done, and we were to retreat..."

"So we began slowly stumbling back down the 12-foot-wide lane we'd come up that morning, many of us not even knowing what had taken place. The display of crowd

mentality was terrifying—no one, but no one, was prepared to move off the lane to let the cars with the injured pass by."

A French anarchist who was on the scene blames the fiasco almost entirely on the organizers. "They said it was to be a non-violent occupation but they didn't say how we were supposed to do it. The ecology groups are irrational about the police; they want to be official, recognized, to run candidates and so forth, and they want to tie the Socialist Party to them."

"They told us we were provocateurs because we wanted to defend ourselves, and they were opposed to the German comrades for the same reason. They whistled and hooted at us, and told us 'We're here to demonstrate, not to make the revolution.'"

The British anarchist journal Freedom put it even more strongly in commenting on the performance of the ecology groups and the left-wing parties at Malville:

"This must lead to the recognition by revolutionaries within the anti-

nuclear movement, and by anarchists and anti-militarists in particular, that they are the only real opposition to the plutonium economy and its deep political, social and environmental consequences.

"The ecological groups will not come to their help when needed, and therefore cannot be treated seriously."

The picture was somewhat similar at Seabrook, although the American police don't as yet have the authorization to attack the (white, middle-class) public at anti-nuclear rallies in such an up-front manner.

Prior to the Seabrook occupation, a six-state meeting of Clamshell Alliance "action committees" decided the big day would be open to anyone who wanted to show up—pacifists, environmentalists and revolutionaries.

But, according to an anarchist who was involved in the early meetings, the "self-appointed Clamshell coordinating committee, dominated by respectability-at-any-price Quakers and their fellow travellers, said the action

continued on p. 19



News from Nowhere

Revolving Women, PO Box 46571, Sta. G, Vancouver, B.C., is a new anarcho-feminist group which got together to write a paper on anarchism that was presented (and well received) at a local conference on Feminism. After the conference they formed a study group which has discussed a range of subjects including crime, violence, the role of leadership—"we have made a commitment to study anarchist analysis and strategy, and hope to add our writings on the connections between feminism and anarchism to those relatively few that already exist." They'd like to make contact with other anarchist feminists, and local women interested in the study group.

Black Rose, a Boston anarchist group, marked the fiftieth anniversary (Aug. 23, 1977) of the deaths of Sacco and Vanzetti with street theatre and a midnight ceremony at the state house. Black Rose has also planned a lecture series which includes Taylor Stoehr (Sept. 16), Murray Bookchin (Sept. 30), Bill Nowlin (Oct. 28) and Freda Salzman (Nov. 18). All lectures take place in Cambridge, Mass. at M.I.T., Building 9, Room 150. Friday nights, 8:00 p.m., and admission is free. For further information call (617) 547-5513. **The Regina Anarchist Group (RAG)**, Box 3658, Regina, Sask., is a new group interested in getting together with other anarchists in the Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Montana and North and South Dakota region. They've just published *The Struggle Against the State*, a translation of an article by Nestor Makhno (\$5 plus postage) and plan to print more pamphlets.

Mutualist Books, PO Box 1283, Rochester, N.Y. 14603, is gathering articles and information for a book on "the Tyranny of Vanguard Parties from the point of view of former members", the new issue of *Red Menace*, Box 171, Station D, Toronto, Ont., (75¢) offers articles of a theoretical and practical nature with good graphics and humour. **Solidarity Books**, PO Box 546, Sta. Z, Toronto, Ont., is distributing the *Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution* by Jose Peirats. They're asking for \$3.50 plus 50¢, but their "first object is to get the book into the hands of those who want it, so please don't let lack of funds hold back orders..."

After a bomb recently planted by the **George Jackson Brigade** was disarmed before it went off, the group found itself faced with the dilemma of being willing to watch a cop die trying to disarm a booby-trapped bomb or being willing to watch unbooby-trapped bombs disarm. In response to the GJB's request for "constructive criticism about this and the other contradictions that surround bombing as a revolutionary tactic," the **Bay Area Research Collective**, a group of anti-authoritarian, aboveground supporters of armed struggle (they formerly published *Dragon*), has asked that people send their thoughts on the subject to them. Barc, Box 4344, Sather Gate Sta., Berkeley, CA 94704, will compile the feedback, then redistribute it so as to further the discussion on this "extremely critical and necessary" topic.

Librairie Alternative Bookshop, 2033 St. Laurent Blvd., Montreal, Quebec (844-3207), an English/French anarchist bookstore, has just opened. It has the largest selection of French language anarchist books, periodicals and posters in North America.

The second issue of *Now & After*, PO Box 1587, San Francisco, CA 94101 (\$1.50 a year), a Libertarian Socialist Newsletter, features articles on Ecology, Britain, Gay rights, and Portugal. **The Storm**, 227 Columbus Ave., New York, N.Y. 10023, "a journal for free spirits," is putting out a gay anarchist issue this fall (in North America 40¢ single, \$2 for six; 'rest of the planet' 55¢ single, \$2.75 for six).

Peoples News Service, 182 Upper St., London N1, a bi-weekly bulletin which emphasizes community action, prisoners and women, is published by a "non-sectarian left-wing collective." **Rising Free**, a bookstore at the same address, has a detailed "anarchist, libertarian communist, council communist, situationist booklet". **Black Flag**, Box A, "Over the Water", Sanday, Orkney, KW17 2BR, Great Britain, the publication of the *Anarchist Black Cross*, is asking for books and photographs which could be used by Flavio Costantini in his artistic documentation of the history of the anarchist movement. A new anarchist/libertarian centre has opened in Melbourne, Australia, and can be contacted at PO Box 20, Parkville, 3053, Vic. Australia. **The Open Road**, as well as several other revolutionary periodicals, is distributed in Belgium and the Netherlands by Bas Morel, Nobelweg 108, Wageningen, The Netherlands.

Organizers of the 3rd Congress of the **International Federation of Anarchists**, have issued an "urgent appeal to all anarchists of the world" to attend the conference being held in late October and early November. In step with the "rebirth" of the anarchist movement in Spain, and the general increase in international anarchist activity, they are calling for serious "organization, solidarity, coordination—active, effective, persistent." For further information contact *Secretariat de la CRIFA*; CP22, 1700 Savona; Italy

MEXICANS REGROUP

Peasants close ranks



Agricultural wage laborer at American-owned feed plant in Culiacan, Mexico.

By Betty Noir

The pace of high-profile land seizures in Mexico has slackened off in the past few months as, below the surface, agricultural wage laborers and impoverished peasants intensify their efforts to build autonomous local unions.

The change of tactics corresponds to a growing realization by agricultural workers that local seizures or grants of tiny, individual plots of land will never give them the power base they need to become self-sufficient or to gain control of Mexico's faltering, foreign-dominated economy.

As well, Mexican President Lopez Portillo's hard-line administration has made it clear that resistance in the form of marches, seizures or occupations will be dealt with harshly.

For instance, authorities in the central Mexican state of Queretaro have recently introduced legislation which could put squatters behind bars for up to 40 years.

With Mexico in the midst of a severe economic crisis (the peso twice-devalued, wages held firm and the price of commodities such as bread and milk more than doubled in recent weeks), Portillo and his one-party government have been obliged by the powerful domestic landlords (latifundistas) to bring even token land reforms to a halt.

In the past, Mexican authorities have attempted to stave off large-scale rebellions by giving out parcels of land, as when outgoing president Luis Echeverria expropriated nearly 250,000 acres of private farmland for angry peasants in late 1976. But there are good indications the State sees no danger in granting plots of land to peasants, since it is virtually impossible for the small farmer to compete with foreign-backed (usually American) agribusiness.

Campeños (peasants) who received land distributed in Sinaloa in the north have seen the ideal of land and liberty—the cry that has spurred the Mexican revolution since 1910—turn to dust. The peasants on their small holdings cannot even eke out a living for themselves and so they have to sell their labor and their land to the agribusiness interests, who have the technology and capital to run a large-scale operation.

As the Native Indian newspaper *Akwesame Notes* observes, "If that pattern continues, it raises doubts about the viability of redistributing land under the present system as a means of solving the problem of campesino poverty."

Death by Dehydration

As wage laborers for American-backed agribusiness, the Mexican far-

mers fare no better—living in shacks and drinking sewage-contaminated water, the peasants can expect to fall prey to intestinal diseases, or diarrhea and dehydration, from which many hundreds, mostly children, die each year.

The campesinos' and agricultural wage laborers' increasingly urgent need for effective political and economic action has spurred the federation of hundreds of peasant groups, on a regional and even a national basis.

Tiny organizations of a few campesinos and large federations of peasant and wage-laborer groups all stress independence, an emphasis learned from years of bitter experience with sell-out State unionism, called *sindicalismo blanco*.

Four examples of the many campesino/wage laborer organizations:

- The *Coordinadora Campesino Revolucionaria Independiente* (CCRI—Independent Revolutionary Peasant Coordinating Committee), founded at a meeting in Mexico City last March, composed of regional organizations from Puebla, Veracruz, Colima, Zacatecas, Sinaloa and Morelos, and now making contact with local groups in Oaxaca, San Luis Potosi and other places to attempt to incorporate them.

- For more information in English, contact the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA), PO Box 226, Berkeley, Calif. 94701, and in Spanish, the Mexican anarchist newspaper, *Tierra Y Libertad*, Apartado Postal M-10596, Mexico 1, D.F., Mexico.

- The *Partido Mexicano de los Trabajadores* (PMT—Mexican Workers' Party) is a relatively new, mass-based revolutionary party led by ex-political prisoners Heriberto Castillo and Demetrio Vallejo. The PMT has targeted Sonora, Sinaloa and Baja California—three coastal states most heavily invaded by U.S. imperialist agribusiness—for the building of regional committees.

Organizing the Dispossessed

Born of the attempt to unify workers, peasants, students and intellectuals in a common revolutionary effort, the PMT hopes to build a "large, wide-range organization to encompass all of the dispossessed and exploited—all of the people who want to fight to make a better life." Part of the PMT's program is the independent unionization of agricultural workers.

- Two other federations are the *General Union of Workers and Peasants* (UGOCM), which appears to be increasingly moving under government control, and the *Independent Union of Agricultural Workers and Peasants* (CIOAC), which had defined a program focusing on unionization of farmworkers and the unification of squatters, small farmers and the unemployed. The CIOAC, so far independent of government-controlled organizations, is heavily penetrated by the Eurocommunist-oriented Mexican Communist Party.

The brutal crushing of recent workers actions, such as the Army-suppressed strike by 4000 tomato-field workers in Sinaloa state, has strengthened the conviction of the peasant-worker movement that local confrontations must be coordinated with other organizations across the country. Direct revolutionary action on a nation-wide scale—marches, armed self-defense against government and landlord attacks, walkouts and the seizure of land and water supplies—is now seen as the shortest road to winning satisfaction of the demands of the Mexican people.

For more information in English, contact the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA), PO Box 226, Berkeley, Calif. 94701, and in Spanish, the Mexican anarchist newspaper, *Tierra Y Libertad*, Apartado Postal M-10596, Mexico 1, D.F., Mexico.

BLACK MARKET BOOKS

distributes anarchist periodicals and other written materials free to prisoners. If your publishing group has such materials to spare, pass them on to Black Market Books, Box 306, Cambridge, Mass. 02139. Donations are also needed to pay for postage.

ZERO®

an anarcho-feminist/anarchist monthly from England. Issue no. 2 (August, 77) includes articles on Italy, anti-nukes, rape and the squatting movement, plus book reviews on Spain and Poland. Lots of graphics: 60 pence (about 66 cents) per issue. Write to *Zero*, c/o Rising Free, 182 Upper St., London N1, England.

COME PIE WITH ME, NOV. 4-11

The creaming of America

By Pie Traynor

It's getting so you can't tell the players without a menu. During its half-baked years, say from 1970 to 1976, political pie throwing was an *a la carte* item offered mainly by a select few revolutionary catering services with their own highly-trained, courteous personnel: established firms like the Youth International Party, the Anarchist Party of Canada (Groucho-Marxist) and the Revolutionary Three Stooges Brigade.

But now in the Year of the Pie, pastry has really come out of the kitchens and into the streets, and increasing numbers of pastry-faced ingenues have started piecing by the seats of their pants. There's a simple explanation: the word is finally getting around via the underground pie-pipeline that the Pie is mightier than the sword, and it makes more sense to pull out a plum (media-wise) than to stew in your own juice.

When they follow the recipe, the free-lance pieromanics are capable of making quite a splash, with the result that their targets—most of whom have been feeding at the public trough for years—can expect to eat humble pie in good measure.

There's the lad in Fairfax, Va., for instance, who just recently scored where thousands of bad guys in dozens of movies had failed before him when he creamed the erstwhile King of the Cowboys, Roy Rogers (trade-mark registered) right between the eyes of his ten gallon stetson. Rogers, who has made a billion bucks out of God, Country, and residuals since he hung up his contract, has been trying to lasso the Piepular Movement with his own brand of kitchen schlock: a chain of roast beef stands that offer french fries in card-

board holsters.

And don't forget the gay enthusiast in Minneapolis—their slogan is Kisses and Revolution—who got his hair cut at Moler's barber college, fortified himself with a couple of Burger King whoppers (in case they didn't feed him anything in jail), showed up at a \$75-a-plate dinner for a local anti-gay Catholic archbishop, had himself photographed shaking hands with his quarry (we who are about to pie, salute you) and then achieved communion with the host—not with a wafer of unleavened bread, but with a 69¢ chocolate cream pie from a local bakery.

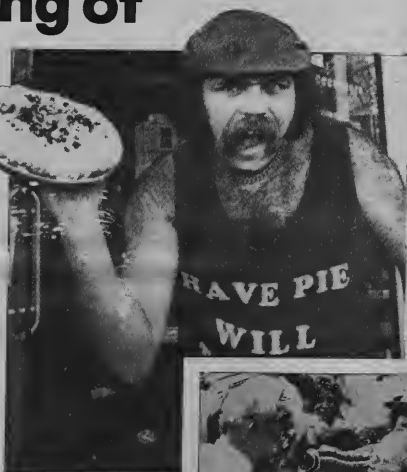
A few weeks later, his buddy met the local organizer for Anita Bryant's Down With Pieple campaign in a TV station parking lot, and a strawberry cream pie slipped out of his hand and managed to perform a very natural act.

He Pies Harder

But let's not mince words: there's nothing like professionalism, and the acknowledged Chef of the Pie-romantics is the Yippie's own Aron Kay, the perfect pie-master of New York and winner of the Most Valuable Pie-er award three years running. Aron is No. 1 because he pies harder, but also because, as the super-naturalized pied piperperson for the '60's generation of love children, he knows that nothin' says lovin' like somethin' from the oven.

Aron was just a rookie back in mid-73 when he took a pot-pie shot at Movement-turned-Gurunoid Rennie Davis from ten yards away with a cherry delight. Because of the strong-arm tactics of the Gurunoids, however, the pie went awry and its tray went astray. But Aron soon discovered you can indeed teach an old pie new tricks.

"I wanted to give Rennie a piece of my mind, but I learned a lesson instead," Aron



Yippie Pie-man Aron Kay lets us see his wares then meets Daniel Moynihan more than half-way



said in a piesonal interview with *Open Road*. "When push comes to shove, you've got to press the flesh, and that means there's no substitute for body contact. It's the only way I know of to intensify the contradictions between the Pie and the Mighty."

Adopting the motto, if at first you don't succeed, pie, again, Aron went on to fame and fortune with William F. Buckley, Daniel Moynihan, Waterbuggers Anthony Ulaciewicz, E. Howard Hunt and Gordon Liddy, and anti-feminist Phyllis Schlafly. He even left his pie in San Francisco, on Quentin Kopp, a particularly obnoxious member of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors.

And speaking of municipal politics, Aron, who's running for mayor of New York these days, helped elevate the level of debate recently when he presented Mayor Abe Beame with an apple crumb pie in recognition of his piker's role

as the biggest crumb in the Big Apple.

The Pious Nihilist

Aron's protege on the West Coast is Vancouver-based Frankie Lee of the Anarchist Party of Canada (Groucho-Marxist), whose specialty is the personalized pie. Lee, who's known as the pious nihilist, took out brain experimenter Jose Delgado with a cow brain and tomato sauce concoction and revolutionist-turned-religionist Eldridge Cleaver with an Oreo cream pie (chocolate on the outside, vanilla on the inside).

"Why do I do it?" he demands to know. "For one thing it's not as much work as organizing the working class, and it's a lot less boring."

Lee uses a variant of the Aron technique; he aims for a spot about four inches in back of the nose "so that the pie has plenty of push when it hits on the button. I think it has something to do with Zen concentration, but I'm not sure because I don't know

that much about Zen."

There are those (see Groucho-Marxist Mark Brothers' memoirs, *I Was A Fugitive From A Pie Gang*) who contend that pie has some sort of cosmic significance, that it represents a refinement of the (North) American tradition of symbolic protest, that it energizes people by appealing to them at an emotional level rather than through the same old boring intellectualism; that it's a short cut to media exposure.

Up to now, this last has certainly been true. Two examples: the Vancouver pieing of Cleaver (and the reasons for it) last Mayday got more coverage in some Montreal papers than did a 10,000 strong unionists mar-

ch in Montreal on the same day, and Aron's take-out on Moynihan earned more ink for the Yippies than did their expensive and time-consuming action at the Kansas City Republican convention.

You can trace Pie back to the Middle Ages, where stuffed shirts threw down the gauntlet to each other, and up to modern times, to Laurel and Hardy and Soupy Sales. But the Age of Pie-kill was properly ushered in in 1970 when Yippie publishing magnate Tom Forcade made his point to a member of the President's Commission on Obscenity and Pornography during a public hearing in Washington, D.C.

Since then, there have been at least 20 hits, including Ohio Gov. James Rhodes, Tennessee Gov. Ray Blanton, Rolling Stone bossman Jann Wenner, Ohio Swastier Rod Perry, the mayor of Ann Arbor, David Frost and Guru Maharaj Ji.

On a few occasions, Pie agents have come to grief: Fifth Estate staffer Pat Halley of Detroit suffered a fractured skull after being ambushed by a vigilante squad of outraged gurus; Zippie Pat Small got a 90-day jail term for assault after he overruled a Miami Beach councillor who had tried to declare a park off-limits; and Columbus Yippie Steve Conliff now faces charges that could net him 7 months in jail for the Gov. Rhodes job.

But mostly, they have made good their escapes, with only a few bruises to show for their excursions into pieticipatory democracy. Usually, though, the recipients of *The Aron* (from the Academy of Motion Pastry Arts and Sciences) have had the last word.

"I seem to have changed color," (Eldridge Cleaver);

"At least he had the good taste to use apple instead of something that would have stained my outfit," (Phyllis Schlafly);

"Why me?" (Jose Delgado);

"I hope they stuff a Roy Rogers Hamburger down his throat," (Roy Rogers);

"Go to hell, you asshole," (E. Howard Hunt).

Follow your desires! Release your aggressions in a positive, creative way. Cream a pig with us. The *Open Road* and *Yipster Times* are calling for an International Week of Pieing, November 4-to-11. Arise you downtrodden masses and strike a blow for freedom. Choose a suitable target, whether he, she or it be of local, national or international infamy, and pie away.

Send information covering your action to PIE-1 (Pastry Information and Entertainment), the aboveground intelligence unit of the Anarchist Party of Canada (Groucho-Marxist), Box 758, Station A, Vancouver, B.C., for completion in the next issue of *The Open Road*.

So far, the pie-deluge has been carried out mainly by organizations like Yippie! and the Groucho-Marxists, and small groups of lone conspirators. Now all the piepeople—groups, isolated nuts, what-have-you—will join together for the International Week of Pieing.

One Pie thrower is a pie-eyed maniac!
Two pie throwers are a pieverted conspiracy!
Three pie throwers are a pieple's army!
When the masses join together to heave pies—Nov. 4 to Nov. 11—it will be a veritable piepular insurrection!

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Yes, folks, capitalism is finally going out of business. So, why not invest in a dynamic new growth industry—the Social Revolution.

For just a \$50 share, you get the following dividends:

- A special guided tour by Frankie Lee of the Mrs. Willman's Pie Factory in Burnaby, B.C.
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- The thrill of helping *The Open Road* grease the skids under the rotting hulk of a dying social order.

The *Open Road* needs sustainers! If it is not to predecease capitalism, if you've got the \$50 to spare, think of *The Open Road*, Box 6135, Station G, Vancouver, B.C., CANADA



FEMINISM:

The Anarchist Impulse Comes Alive



A year earlier WITCH (Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell) coven had sprung up all over North America proclaiming open warfare on dehumanizing institutions from the United Fruit Company to sexist sons. "Whatever is repressive, solely male-oriented, greedy, puritanical, authoritarian—those are your targets." A common style united the covens and made them known in the broader women's community—they were implacable, theatrical and humorous in the way in which they pursued their activism. Each coven was autonomous, though many were in close communication with each other, and all of them were "unhierarchical to the point of anarchy." During this period too, Siren, an anarchist feminist journal, the first of its kind, was published in Chicago.

We Won't Be Fooled Again

Somewhat later, the split between the radical feminists, conscious anarchists and the more authoritarian socialist feminists became clearly articulated in the discussion over Joreen's "The Tyranny of Structurelessness" and the anarchist reply by Cathy Levine, "The Tyranny of Tyranny." The small group structure which characterized the feminist movement in the Consciousness Raising group stage, now came to be scrutinized. Anarchist women opposed the push toward greater centralization, hierarchical structures and abstracted political lines.

The argument over structure went much deeper than the question of how women's groups should be organized. What it ultimately questioned was the nature of the revolution in which women would be involved. "... the consciousness raising phase of the movement is not over. Consciousness raising is a vital process which must go on... to and through the revolutionary liberation. . . Consciousness raising as a strategy for revolution must involve helping women translate their personal dissatisfaction into class-consciousness and making organized women accessible to all women." (C. Levine)

Much of the discussion began to focus on the historic differences between Marxism-Leninism and Anarchism. Furthermore, the opposing views on the relationship between the psychological roots of oppression, political activism and organization divided the two camps from each other. The anarchist women along with many of their radical feminist sisters further developed the analysis Emma Goldman had expressed many years earlier—that "revolution must essentially be a process of reconstruction. . . that the only purpose of revolution must be transformation." For Goldman as well as for the contemporary anti-authoritarians, this

involved personal relationships with each other, to one's own body and mind, as well as to the larger social and political institutions.

In part, the result of the focus on the personal as political allowed women to spend time pursuing their own creativity without feeling they were letting down "the movement." Poetry, art, theater, dance, all became political forms of expression through personal creativity. The new society had begun taking form in the belly of the old. "I cannot imagine a free society without beauty, for of what use liberty, if not to strive for beauty? . . . beauty of personality, human relationship, and the finer things in nature or in life." (Goldman). Louise Michel articulated the same feeling somewhat differently when she said, "I am then an anarchist because only anarchy means the happiness of humanity."

The focus on the personal as political has always been an element of anarchism. However, among anarchist men the practice has never been realized in any meaningful way. Much of Goldman's and Berkman's arguments with each other focused on the issue of emphasis on the personal; much of the alienation of anarcho-feminists from male anarchists reiterates that theme. "Nor should we delude ourselves about consideration of women's issues in the past of the anarchist movement. Feminist priorities were no more positively perceived by anarchist men than by any others in over-all male socialist circles. . . It is patently untrue that male anarchists usually led lives compatible in practice with the theories, and implications of theories which they originated." (Leighon)

On The Road

The early seventies marked the period of conscious articulation of anarchist feminism. A manifesto written by a group of women in Chicago committed itself to the destruction of "all vestiges of the male-dominated power structure, the State itself—with its whole ancient and dismal apparatus of jails, armies and armed robbery (taxation); with all its murder; with all of its grotesque and repressive legislation and military attempts. . . to interfere with people's private lives and freely-chosen cooperative ventures."

Another manifesto written by Black Maria and Red Rosa in Cambridge stated, "As true anarchists and as true feminists, we say dare to dream the impossible and never settle for less than total translation of the impossible into reality."

The nascent anarchism of many radical feminists had become conscious, and women felt that this was an important step in the articulation of their politics. "Having perceived that there are 'natural' anarchist tendencies in the women's movement, an anarcho-feminist is one who intellectually identifies with major aspects of the intellectual tradition of anarchist radicalism. If anarchism itself were more well-known as a radical tradition, the term 'anarcho-feminist' would be self-evident. . . one who has chosen to utilize a particular intellectual analytical method to aid in the development of feminist theory and strategy." (Peggy Kornegger)

Anarchist feminism does not have a developed body of theory. Yet it has become increasingly more clear to feminists that the

By Helene Ellenbogen

"It is a commentary. . . on how little theories fight inhibitions. Here you are an anarchist, firmly believing in the utmost freedom of the individual, and yet you persist in glorifying women as the cook and breeder of large families. Do you not see the inconsistency of your claims? But the inhibitions and traditions of the male are too deep set. I am afraid they will continue long after anarchism has been established. . ." (Emma Goldman to Max Nettlau)

The second wave of American feminism was born in the late sixties in the midst of a generation of women who had gotten their first political experience in the new left. That experience had left many of them with the acute sense that the economic and political realm were not sufficient for a revolution; that any real revolution would have to be a social one which included the very way human relationships were structured and experienced.

Of course the concept of social revolution was not new; social revolution was the term used by anarchists since the middle of the nineteenth century. Nor was the concept of the personal as political and the political as personal a new one. Anarchists, particularly

anarchist women had struggled for that ideal for a century. It is no accident that Louise Michel fought against the men in the Paris Commune who would not allow prostitutes to act as nurses for the wounded soldiers or that Emma Goldman was as feared by her opponents for her advocacy of free love and birth control as she was for her views on the State.

The Second Wave

In the early feminist movement the split between the radical or revolutionary feminists and the liberals was quickly apparent. But the split among the radical feminists also surfaced quickly. As early as 1909 the Manifesto of the Women's Majority Union in Seattle, known as Lillith's Manifesto, declared: "This revolution has got to go for broke: power to no one, and to every one: to each the power over his/her own life, and no others." That same year, the Women's Caucus in YIP declared in a somewhat more Dadaist style, "The Women's Liberation Caucus within the Youth International Party, being through a rigorous analysis of the thoughts of Mao, Susan B. Anthony, Che, Lenin, and Groucho, considers itself bound by the historic necessity of becoming the vanguard party of the progressive women's revolution because we fly higher."

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Anarcha-feminists of the past (from top, clockwise): Louise Michel, 1830-1905, veteran of the Paris Commune; Voltairine deCleyre, 1866-1912, poet and propagandist; Emma Goldman, 1869-1940, agitator for the Social Revolution; Marie-Louise Berneri, 1918-49, anti-fascist militant; and Lucy Parsons, 1853-1942, a founder of the Wobblies.

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theories of liberation developing out of feminism create a vital link to the anti-authoritarian theories of anarchism. In the article "Anarchism: The Feminist Connection" Kornegger states:

"Living within and being conditioned by an authoritarian society often prevents us from making that all-important connection between feminism and anarchism. When we say we are fighting the patriarchy, it isn't always clear to all of us that that means fighting *all* hierarchy, *all* leadership, *all* government, and the very idea of authority itself. Our impulses toward collective work and small leaderless groups have been anarchistic, but in most cases we haven't called them by that name. And that is important, because an understanding of feminism as anarchism could springboard women out of reformism and stopgap measures into a revolutionary confrontation with the basic nature of authoritarian politics."

What Is Being Done

Anarchist feminists define themselves in various ways. Some are lesbians, some are heterosexual; some work with women only, others work in mixed groups; some focus on issues relating most directly to women, others focus on issues such as nuclear power. All see the need and the desirability of a variety of groupings which allow for the broadest possible expression of political activity in personally satisfying groups. The breadth and variety of work in which different women are involved is astounding.

Periodically, a newsletter called *Anarcha-feminist Notes* is published by a collective who has the energy to do it. As of this printing the mailing address is: c/o Karen Johnson, 1821 8th St., Des Moines, Iowa. The location for publication changes with each issue. The newsletter acts primarily as a communications network among women.

The last issue of *Anarcha-feminist Notes* was published by Tiamat, a study-action group in Ithaca, New York. Much of their political activity focuses on issues which involve people who are not anarchists. Some of Tiamat's activities are done as a group, others by individuals in it. The women describe themselves thus: "We live in Ithaca as lesbians or bisexuals, as straight couples, with children, alone, in cooperative houses, as celibates; we all work hard, some in regular jobs..."

Like Tiamat, anarcha-feminist study groups are springing up everywhere. In the last three months, two such groups have developed in Seattle and others in Montreal and Vancouver. These groups have formed partly as a result of disillusionment with women's groups who implicitly assume a definition of socialism which excludes anarchism and which is hierarchical in nature. Such study groups are often a focus not only for collectively expanding theoretical knowledge, but for other political activity of various members into a coherent whole. The Ithaca group sums it up: "At the same time as our group studies and celebrates we are each involved individually and sometimes collectively in different actions around local and national issues." These range from the local food coop, to lesbian rights to ecology struggles.

In a similar vein, at a recent convention of the War Resisters League, a large number of women attended a workshop on anarcha-feminism, some because they defined their politics as anarchist and feminist, others because they wanted to learn about a hybrid which sounded appealing.

Anarchists and anarcha-feminists are involved in food coops and alternative health clinics across North America. One of the founders of a shelter for battered women in Cambridge is an anarchist and describes the shelter as being essentially anarchistic in its organizational structure. In Seattle and Boston, health clinics and women's clinics which have led the fight against government access to client files through funding, are run as collectives and include a number of anarcha-feminists. Both the collective process and the resistance to co-optation by the State, as well as the clear understanding



that any legitimization given to the police arm of the State simply strengthens its ability to dominate, comes from a perspective defiant of authority and ready to end it.

Although many of the collectives in which anarcha-feminists work do not define themselves as anarchist, it is clear that their structures and philosophy are anarchistic. An example is the shelter for battered women in Cambridge. Women there are not encouraged to call the police or deal with the abusive males through the courts (a common practice in similar shelters). Rather, a philosophy of self-help and self-determination for the women who come to the shelter is fostered.

Much of the interest in anarchism for the anarcha-feminist mentioned above stems from her disillusion with other elements of the left. "I'm not gonna fight for any revolution that's going to leave me as oppressed and manipulated as I am now." Her sentiments are shared by many others as is her priority for working with women whose oppression she shares directly.

Peggy Kornegger, part of the Second Wave collective, describes her evolution toward anarchism in a similar manner. "To many leftists the revolution was either sacrificial or so male authoritarian that I couldn't relate to it. We'll have beauty after the revolution, but right now get out and sell those pamphlets." The prospect was not sufficiently inviting. "The revolution needs to combine the spiritual, the poetic, the political, the

sexual—the past, the present and future simultaneously. The means have to also be the ends." Peggy stressed that the revolution should not be thought of as an immediate accomplishment in which someone is taken out of power and replaced with someone else. She sees the vision of revolution as an ongoing process which we begin to live in the present.

Second Wave, like the shelter for battered women, operates as a non-hierarchical collective. The politics of the magazine are not uniformly anarchistic. However, like the shelter, the process of the magazine reflects what Peggy has described as unconscious anarchism.

Come! Unity Press in New York, which started as an anarchist and feminist collective has had a great effect on the process of many feminist groups in the East. The press operates as a community service; anyone can print their material. The people at the press are willing to teach anyone to use the equipment. This has led to a natural selection process which excludes groups unwilling to do the manual labor on their own projects.

The economic position Come! Unity has held since its start, is its most important feature. The press operates on a basis of pay more if you can, less if you can't. It demands that everything printed on its presses be distributed with this philosophy. As a result, the press has serious financial problems. Nonetheless, they have managed to operate sometimes as a collective, sometimes with

just one person for over five years. "If we want an anarchist future, we really need to have an anarchist response to the present—an inspiring, hopeful vision. It makes sense—if you thought about how you really want to live, it has to be anarchism."

A great deal of anarcha-feminist work revolves around communication. In Seattle several of the women working on a women's prison newsletter, *Through the Looking Glass*, are anarcha-feminists. In Baltimore, a small group of anarchists and anarcha-feminists operate an anarchist school. The school (a kind of free university) offers a variety of courses: creative writing for children, Wilhelm Reich, movement structural skills, how to form a coop and bread baking. They also offer courses in political theory, feminism and have open forums on anarchism.

An overlapping group works as the Great Atlantic Radio Conspiracy which produces tapes on various political and social topics. Yet another overlapping group prints and writes pamphlets under the name Research Group One. (Number 26 in their series is Carol Ehrlich's *Socialism, Anarchism and Feminism*). In Rochester, New York, Mutualist Books, a small publisher operates on a collective basis and includes anarchist feminism in its perspective. A number of anarchist publications including *The Open Road* and *The Fifth Estate* in Detroit include women who are clearly anarchists and feminists. Two newspapers with strong anarcha-feminism focus have also recently begun publication, *Soil of Liberty* in Minneapolis and *Feminist Communications* in San Diego.

Book stores, like small presses, seem to involve large numbers of anarcha-feminists. In many cases the store is seen as a center for activity in the community and as a communications voice.

Community organizing efforts, particularly around housing, is another area of anarcha-feminist involvement. The basic unit of a neighborhood fits easily into the anarchist concept of small groups and self-determination. This is particularly significant in large east coast cities, where the fight for decent housing is escalating rapidly as arson by the landlords wipes out large numbers of low cost buildings. In Montreal, New York and Boston this seems to be a new focus. Here again, anarcha-feminists work in groups of both men and women with extremely varied politics. Where their influence is most evident is in the new tendency to focus housing organization away from legislative and judicial reform and into self-help groups.

The focus on organization on a local level and the emphasis on the relationship of the personal as political has raised the question of method (tactics, if you like military jargon) among anarcha-feminists. Some are avowedly non-violent and see the avoidance of all bloodshed as central to the struggle for freedom. Others see armed struggle as an inevitable necessity though they reject much of the militarism which has traditionally characterized this kind of struggle in Europe and North America. In neither case is there debate over the destruction of property as an appropriate means.

The question of violence is central to anarcha-feminists in either camp because violence has been used so directly as a way to dominate women. The problem is one of the relationship between the means and the end: will the use of violence now give a legacy of violence to the world we are fighting to create; and how much of the violence which has characterized the old revolutions is necessary in the new ones? Emma Goldman sums up the dilemma in a letter:

"I still believe that great social changes have not and cannot take place without some clash. After all, revolutions are nothing else but the breaking point of accumulated evolutionary forces. Such a breaking point is inherent in nature and expresses itself through violent storms. Equally so are the forces inherent in life. Every change from the old to something new creates violent upheavals in our being. So too, such upheavals take place in the social and economic life of the world. But I have come to the conclusion that the amount of violence in any revolution will depend entirely upon the amount of preparation on the part of the conflicting forces—the amount of *inner* preparation."

(For copies of the above-mentioned articles contact Revolving Women, PO Box 46371, Sta. G, Vancouver, B.C.)

Inuit form common front

The 100,000 people who inhabit the earth's northernmost regions are discovering they have a lot more in common than just their harsh and isolated homelands. They are scattered in tiny settlements across three continents, yet they share a common language and culture, and increasingly, they face a common threat to their traditional communalist and nomadic way of life.

Oil, gas and other mineral development is fast coming to the lands above the Arctic Circle, and the Inuit (Eskimo) peoples of Canada, Alaska, Greenland and the Soviet Union are finding themselves confronted with a critical dilemma—they must adopt western-style political strategies or face extinction as an unique and self-sufficient race.

The Inuit have now started reaching out to each other across the Pole. For the first time in their history, they have gathered together in a supra-national assembly to develop a common front against the white colonial regimes.

Their first meeting, held in June in Barrow, Alaska, 347 miles above the Arctic Circle, focused on the one key issue



that is central to the survival of the Inuit—their guaranteed access to a substantial and unspoiled land base.

The Inuit are pressing a number of aboriginal land claims, based on the fact they have occupied their homelands since before history was written. To date, they have achieved some official recognition for their claims,

mainly because of their willingness to stop "progress" with lawsuits and other political action.

Like other colonized races, the Inuit have had to make

some accommodation to the settlement way-of-life (snowmobiles instead of dog teams, etc.) yet most continue to depend on hunting and trapping for food and other

necessities. Because of the harsh climate and terrain, they must roam in extended family groupings over vast expanses—up to 22,000 square miles for one hunter in search of caribou—so the presence of pipelines, mines or other intrusions has a seriously upsetting effect.

The Barrow meeting, which, coincidentally, was held just a week before the start-up of the trans-Alaska oil pipeline from Prudhoe Bay on the Arctic coast, brought together 300 representatives of Inuit national groups in Alaska, Canada, and Greenland. Attempts were made to contact Inuits in Siberia, but the Soviet authorities prevented it.

The week-long meeting, dubbed the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, passed a number of resolutions calling for, among other things, the demilitarization of the polar regions, environmental protection, improvements in health and other social ser-

vices, unfettered Inuit hunting rights and unrestricted movement of Inuit people across their homelands.

As one of the conference organizers said in summary: "The opportunity is here for the creation of what some people are beginning to call the Inuit nation."

The delegates established a steering committee to chart the future course over the next several months, and this undoubtedly will include creation of an international common-front organization to press the campaign. The new group will be severely hampered, however, by the indifference and even hostility of the colonial regimes, and by the very uneven political development and levels of consciousness of the various national groupings.

In Alaska, for instance, the 20,000 Inuits, along with the Aleuts and Indians, reached a settlement with the government five years ago under which they gave up all their claims over the vast region in return for cash settlements amounting to a few thousand dollars each and some land grants. A similar agreement was reached between the Inuit and Indian people of northern Quebec and the Quebec government. In both cases, the native people really didn't have much choice: massive development projects were going in anyway (in Alaska the pipeline, in James Bay a hydroelectric project), and they had to take what they could get.

However, the Quebec government seems now to have bitten off more than it can chew with its announcement that newly-emigrated Inuit and Indians must send their children to French-language schools. The move

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SRAF CONFERENCE

Anarchists take new tack

By Earl Averill

North America's largest explicitly anarchist organization wants to run up the black flag and see who salutes.

An "anarchist-communist tendency" is developing within the Social Revolutionary Anarchist Federation (SRAF) in an attempt to rally individuals and local SRAF groupings to a more coherent and class-conscious orientation.

Members of the new tendency have taken a strong stand that SRAF must continue to grow in an organic and decentralized manner, but they are at pains to counter those individualistic and "anarcho-capitalist" dements that view SRAF mainly as a debating society.

The new tendency came out into the open at SRAF's third annual continental conference, held in late August at a campground in rural Wisconsin. More than 100 anarchists from the U.S. and Canada were present, and they received draft copies of a statement of Anarchist-Communist Principles put forward by the Resurgence group in Evanston, Ill., with the help of Totally Eclipsed, Jordan Station, Ont.

The five-page statement presents an anarchist critique of the State and poses a federalist vision of a "network of voluntary alliances embracing the totality of social life (production, consumption, health, culture, recreation, etc.) in which all groups and organizations reap the benefits of unity while still exercising their autonomy within their own spheres and expanding the range of their freedom."

The statement proposes that members undertake the publication of educational materials and form discussion and study groups to push the principles within and without SRAF. As well, members would coordinate their efforts in rank-and-file workers' caucuses, alternative mutual-aid groups, in the feminist movement, and in international solidarity work (e.g., for the CNT).

The tendency has been publishing Self-Management Newsletter as its organ of communications. It's expected that two other SRAF publications, the SRAF Bulletin (shorn of some of its personalized polemics) and Black Star will also help get the word out.

No Take Over

So far, plans are quite vague as to how this tendency would operate in practice, although members insist there is no intention of "taking over" SRAF. Local SRAF groups would still be autonomous, and each would decide whether and in what manner to raise the SRAF banner in their local organizing.

The draft statement sparked lively discussion at the conference, and all the participants went home to consider possible revisions. Local and regional meetings are being held this fall, with a Nov. 20 deadline for written critiques and suggestions to be mailed to either of the two staging points for collection.

The revised version of the statement is scheduled to be mailed to everyone on the SRAF mailing list by Dec. 1.

The emergence of the new tendency marks the most significant step in the

evolution of SRAF since its inception as a campus-based group in Southern California in the late 1960's. SRAF has no leadership or coordinating body, and all tasks are handled through individual or local group initiative.

The Federation now includes 30 chapters and about 1,000 people throughout North America. Most of the energy of late has been

generated from east of the Mississippi.

To plug into the process for determining SRAF's future course, or just to learn more about the organization, contact Bruce Allen, c/o Totally Eclipsed, Box 223, Jordan Station, Ont. L0R 1S0; or Erna Gold, c/o Free-space, 339 Lafayette St., New York, N.Y. 10012.

INTERNATIONAL PRISON FAMILY

Hapotox: "Playing to win"

HAPOTOC International Family (Help a Prisoner and Outlaw Torture Organizing Committee) is no ordinary prisoners' aid organization. It's an explicitly anarchist group aiming to eradicate the social conditions which give rise to crime, violence, prisons, police forces, armies and dictatorships of all kinds.

Unlike Amnesty International, which aids only non-violent prisoners of conscience, the Amsterdam-based HAPOTOC works on behalf of any prisoner, no matter what the "crime" may have been, with no distinction made between political and economic offenses. The reason: crime and prisons were born when State/class society was born, and they can only be overcome when State/class society is given its final push into the dustbin of history.

HAPOTOC attempts to win people to anarchism by getting them involved initially in individual cases, by encouraging them to correspond with or about selected prisoners. This involves them in the prisoners'

struggle, and exposes the true face of the State, which is normally hidden from view. Prisoners involved with the organization are encouraged to work on behalf of other prisoners, thus developing solidarity.

Membership in HAPOTOC is informal; there are no rolls kept, but there are special sub-groupings. I.C.A.T. (International Crusade Against Torture), Box 22523, Fazantenhof, Bijlmermeer, Amsterdam, Netherlands, deals specifically with cases of torture, behaviour modification, and the death sentence. This is a struggle wing that needs to be built up so that it can become an emergency wing capable of acting very quickly.

Another sub-grouping, ICAP (International Crusade Against Prisoners), Box 27087, 1002-AB, Amsterdam, Netherlands, deals with prison conditions, life imprisonment cases, and prison slave labour.

HAPOTOC began when

Michael Tobin, currently based in Amsterdam, was arrested in England for issuing a leaflet calling on British soldiers to desert. He pointed out that the soldiers were only workers with uniforms on, and should join with the Irish workers to fight against the fascists in Britain as well as in Ireland. Tobin's defense committee finally forced Amnesty International to take his case after they had initially refused. After his release, Tobin worked on other cases with AI, but soon discovered an overly cozy relationship between some elements in the group and the British government.

This confirmed the need for a new transnational prisoner organization. So HAPOTOC was formed in September 1974, with a manifesto published in the summer of 1975. At this time they had a few score prisoners—almost all inside for "criminal" reasons. Then in October they got an urgent appeal on behalf of Marie and Noel Murray, imprisoned for their beliefs by the Irish republican govern-

ment, and helped launch an international support campaign.

But the vast majority of HAPOTOC's work is not with name prisoners. Much of it is money and time consuming—writing letters, photocopying documents, making contact with prisoners and support people and sending them money and stamps.

As their message to new readers of Rebel, their English-language newsletter, states, "HAPOTOC adopts a positive attitude to struggle. We are not interested in skulking in corners or in becoming martyrs. For we are playing to win. We think it is time that the criminal rulers of States were made to skulk in corners. We think it is time that their sick social system was buried in the pits of history."

HAPOTOC needs donations and individuals to support their campaigns and to become involved with prisoners. Write to them at Box 10638, Amsterdam, Netherlands.

GJB gets silent treatment

There's been an estimated 80 new FBI agents assigned to the Seattle area in recent months, but that couldn't have anything to do with the renewed bombing and expropriations offensive of the urban guerrilla George Jackson Brigade.

In fact, if you believe the federal government and the mass media, there's hardly anything unusual happening these days in the Pacific Northwest: revolutionize.

The government's new soft-sell approach bears the stamp of the Carter administration's more sophisticated line on containment of subversive activities. Gone is the Nixonian brand of sensationalism, which, after all, only tended to draw the public's attention to the why's and wherefore's of guerrillaism.

Item: In a Mayday communique, the GJB announced it was back in the bombing business after a year's hiatus in which it had pulled off six successful bank robberies (expropriations) in Oregon. (See *Open Road*, No. 3, Summer 1977.) The day after the communique was issued, the U.S. Attorney in Portland revealed that secret grand jury indictments had been issued months before against two alleged GJB members for bank robbery—indicating the government knew of the GJB's involvement all along, but had suppressed the fact.

Item: Not a single wanted poster has been put up publicly for any alleged GJB members, including one member who was busted out of jail earlier this year and is assuredly high on the FBI's list.

Item: The highly-publicized grand jury circus, which

caused the Seattle Left to mobilize in its own defense, has been quietly allowed to die (although it could be revived), and the current FBI investigations are being conducted in a very low-profile manner.

Item: The GJB pulled off

two robberies in the suburban Bellevue area and announced the fact sometime afterward, but neither the local police nor the FBI ever bothered to confirm it until much later.

This downplaying of guerrilla activity is part of the Carter strategy of projecting an image of harmony throughout the land. In large demonstrations, as well, the administration's objective is to avoid confrontation where possible so as to defuse the force of protest: federal officials don't want to repeat the mistake of Seabrook, where 1,500 arrested demonstrators stoked high the fires of public sympathy.

At present, the GJB is one of the most successfully-active guerrilla forces in North America. It suspended

increasingly anti-elitist, non-rhetorical, non-vanguardist and non-dogmatic con-

Meanwhile at Walla Walla, the prisoners are waiting to see which promises the new liberal administration will choose to keep following the conclusion of a 47-day work stoppage among the general

would be used for stashing up to 100 prisoners at a time, and not just prisoners who had broken rules of the institution or had taken hostages, etc. You could earn a stretch of many months in the hole for filing a lawsuit against the administration, talking union or putting up a "provocative" poster in your cell.

Vinzant has now ordered the "release" of two-thirds of the hole's prisoners into the general population. This includes Carl Harp, who was told previously he would never get out of the hole until he renounced anarchism, and GJB member Ed Mead.

The guards are furious with Vinzant, and have started organizing against him, including issuing public statements and submitting petitions to the legislature.

The prisoners struggle at Walla Walla for an end to racial discrimination by guards, lack of meaningful work and poor medical conditions has been growing more

intense in recent months. The guards' offensive itself needs to be countered with a show of support from the outside.

To get in on the Walla Walla defense, check with United Families and Friends of Prisoners, c/o American Friends Service Committee, 814 N.E. 40th, Seattle, Wash. 98101.

News and communiques on the George Jackson Brigade and on the Walla Walla situation are available from Left Bank Books, 92 Pike Street, Seattle, Wash. 98101.



operations in Seattle late last year after one of its members was killed in an abortive bank robbery, but since its re-emergence it has pulled off a clean bombing—in support of prisoners' struggles at Walla Walla state pen—and four robberies.

Four individuals—three men and one woman—have been publicly identified as members or associates of the GJB. Most of them have a working class/lumpen background, history and style, and all have been active in the prison movement (three from inside the walls).

Recent communiques by the GJB have projected an

consciousness, with clear pro-feminist and pro-gay positions. The GJB spent a year rethinking its politics while in Oregon, and it is now asking for public criticism of its words and actions. Rumour has it that a major political statement by the GJB will be forthcoming shortly.

population and a full three-month sit-down by prisoners in the hole.

The big changes so far are that there's a new warden, ex-clergyman Douglas Vinzant (the old, hard-line warden got kicked upstairs), there's been a general paint-up and clean-up around the institution, and the hole has been substantially depopulated.

Prior to the strike, the hole

BETTER BLACK THAN RED OR DEAD

Anarchy is liberty, not disorder

By Mark Brothers

A large number of prisoners, feminists and one-time authoritarian Leftists have recently become conscious anarchists. Often this move has been prompted by negative experiences—the rejection of Marxism-Leninism or capitalism—rather than a firm understanding of anarchism as a positive revolutionary alternative. Many of those who turn to anarchism quickly abandon it because they see little being built and feel that it offers no organizational forms. But, in fact, anarchism contains solid structural alternatives to other forms of socialism.

There have been three major forms of socialism—libertarian socialism (anarchism), "authoritarian" socialism (Marxist communism) and democratic socialism (electoral social democracy). The non-anarchist left has echoed the bourgeoisie's portrayal of anarchism as an ideology of chaos and lunacy. But anarchism, and especially anarchist-communism, has nothing in common with this image; anarchists are social

revolutionaries who seek a stateless, voluntary, co-operative federation of decentralized communities—based upon social ownership, individual liberty and autonomous self-management.

Organizationally, they differ from the authoritarian revolutionary socialists, the Marxist-Leninists, in, primarily, three ways. Anarchists reject the M-L notions of the vanguard party, democratic centralism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and have alternatives to each of them. The problem is that almost the entire left, including some anarchists, is completely unaware of anarchism's tangible structural alternatives of the catalyst group, anarchist consensus and the mass commune.

Catalyst Group

The anarchist alternative to the vanguard party is the catalyst group. In order to make a revolutionary, large-scale, co-ordinated movements are necessary, and their formation is, in no way, counter to anarchism; what anarchists are opposed to is hierarchical, power-

tripping leadership and undefined, ambiguous leadership which suppresses the creativity of the bulk of those involved. Obviously, some people are more experienced, articulate or skilled than others, and these people will play leadership roles (although there is a conscious attempt to continuously pass on skills to each other), and they may form groups which drive forward, and help crystallize the potential for revolutionary change. The members of these groups reject hierarchical positions—having more 'official' authority than others—and, unlike the M-L vanguard parties, they won't perpetuate their leadership after the revolution. Instead, the catalyst group will be dissolved and its members, as individuals, will be absorbed as equal participants into the new societies collective decision-making process.

We don't want a group of authoritarians "leading" us, then establishing themselves as a centralized decision-making command. Instead of "withering away," Marxist-Leninist parties have perpetuated authoritarian institutions to maintain their

own power. The apparent effectiveness of such organizations—"we're just as efficient, disciplined and centralized"—masks the way that "revolutionaries" who pattern themselves after capitalist institutions (domination, hierarchy) become absorbed by bourgeois values, and completely isolated from the real needs and desires of ordinary people.

Anarchist Consensus

While anarchist groups reach decisions through anarchist consensus, the M-L's organize through democratic centralism by which each member of a group—ultimately of a society—is subordinate to a "higher" member until one reaches the central committee. Members must participate when told to, even if they're unsupportive of the proposed project, or face expulsion by the central committee.

In anarchist groups, proposals are talked out around members (none of whom has authority over another), dissenting minorities are respected and each individual's participation is volun-

tary. As anarchist writer Murray Bookchin points out:

"Co-ordination and self-discipline must be achieved voluntarily, by virtue of the high moral and intellectual calibre of the revolutionary. To seek less than this is to accept, as a 'revolutionary,' a mindless robot, a creature of authoritarian training, a manipulable agent who's antithetical to any society that could be remotely regarded as free."

Anarchist organizations are structured around ongoing work-group committees. Unlike M-L groups in which new, inexperienced "cadres" are shoved off into the shit jobs of 'lower' committees (like leafletting or stamp licking committees), anarchist work-groups are equal, structured around the interests of those involved and new members of the organization join the committee of their choice or start their own.

When the size of the work-groups (which could be groups organized around media, actions, theatre, finances...) becomes cumbersome, the organization can be decentralized into two, or several, autonomous

organizations, still united in one large federation. This enables the group to expand limitlessly while maintaining its anarchic form of decentralized, self-management.

Anarchist groups aren't even necessarily organized loosely; anarchism is flexible and structures can be practically non-existent or very tight, depending upon the organization demanded by the conditions being faced. For instance, organization would tighten during military operations.

Mass Commune

Unlike members of Leninist parties, whose daily lives are generally similar to present bourgeois lifestyles, anarchist organizational structures and lifestyles (through communes, tribes, affinity groups...) attempt to reflect the liberated society of the future. Since the M-L's don't build co-operative structures, the nucleus of the new society (anarchists build them throughout the Spanish revolution), while tearing capitalism apart, they want to seize state power and institute their own dictatorship of the proletariat instead of

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50 YEARS AFTER SACCO & VANZETTI

Immigrants: still taking the flak

Fifty years after the murders of Sacco and Vanzetti, immigrant workers in North America are still getting the message:

Work, but don't think; consume, but don't demand; suffer, but don't complain.

All the liberal breast-beating these days about the railroading of the two anarchist militants is just so much ancient—and hypocritical—history. If you believe the current keepers of the public conscience, Sacco and Vanzetti were victimized by a once-in-a-lifetime confluence of lamentable circumstances—a "red scare" atmosphere feeding on the aftermath of the Bolshevik Revolution and a particularly vicious and reactionary judge and prosecutorial staff.

The truth is, the life work of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti sprung from the institutionalized racism and exploitation of immigrant laborers that has characterized the "building" of America throughout its history. And they were killed, not only because they were anarchists, but also as a warning to the great under-class of non-Anglo laborers who were once-again becoming restive.

In the Spring of 1920, U.S. Attorney General Palmer, warning of radical aliens plotting the Red revolution, launched a series of wholesale arrests and deportations. More than 1,000 aliens were shipped home.

In this climate of fear and hysteria, where foreign-looking Reds and Bolsheviks

were seen lurking at every troublespot, Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested on a trumped-up murder charge involving a payroll robbery in South Braintree, Mass. Their subsequent sham of a trial was followed by seven years of legal appeals and protests around the world, but 50 years ago this year, on August 23, 1927, their string ran out and they went to the electric chair.

While their deaths may not have been completely in vain, they would still easily recognize many of the features of racist exploitation that they fought in their own day, if they were to return now.

Chinese and East Indians

Only it wouldn't be the Black, Italian, German, and Irish in the U.S., nor similar groups plus the Chinese in Canada, who were on the receiving end of the (North) American dream. Now it's the hispanic people of Mexico and Latin America in the U.S. and the East Indians in Canada.

And although unlike Sacco and Vanzetti and other foreign dissidents, the majority of these immigrants may not represent any immediate political threat to the U.S., they are still obviously being scapegoated as the current menace to jobs, the economy and American society.

The most recent accounts of the "threat" posed by these "undesirable" workers perpetuate such myths as that the silent invasion of 14



Sacco (left), Vanzetti and their death-house guards.

million illegals is responsible for present economic problems in the U.S.

The majority come from Mexico to work on farms, vineyards or in service industries and factories where their wages of a few dollars a day, in some cases, represents a substantial improvement over their former income. Lured by that seductive "American dream," they are

willing to leave their homeland behind and endure exploitation to become part of it.

The truth is that illegal aliens pose no threat to U.S. jobs, nor do they drain the economy. Instead, the government's own researchers found that these workers provide an easy source of cheap, exploitable labor, especially for U.S. agribusiness; the majority are afraid to seek public assis-

tance and thus, less than one-half of one percent received welfare benefits; and they work on jobs undesirable to the majority of Americans because of the less-than-minimum wages paid, the unappealing job categories, and overall discouraging work conditions.

INS Gestapo

As long as they remain in the country, they are subject not only to the demands of

the employers who may also charge them exorbitant prices for false identification, room and board, or even sham marriages, but they live as a hunted species, in constant fear of being caught by the Immigration and Naturalization Service during frequent factory and farm raids.

Known as the Gestapo of the U.S. Southwest, the INS throws its weight around freely, carrying out arbitrary decisions on the spot, in some cases splitting up families or alternately, threatening activists in immigration reform with deportation.

Although there are no exact figures on the numbers of "illegal aliens" present in the U.S.—estimates range from 2 million to 20 million—there is evidence to indicate that the population is increasing. More are found and expelled by INS every year.

The paradox of the whole situation finds these immigrant workers caught in the middle between right wing elements who blame them for everything under the American sun, while on the other hand, they receive qualified support, if not at least tacit approval, from U.S. big business, which regards their presence as a familiar and healthy phenomenon, given their desirability as a commodity to some industries.

The Carter government has responded to the issue by beefing up INS border patrols and attempting to piece together new immigration legislation that would fine or penalize employers for hiring undocumented workers. Plans for a fool-proof national identity card and a "Berlin Wall" at the Mexican border seem to have been scrapped temporarily.

In Canada, the Trudeau government, riding the crest of a racist wave that has attempted to blame immigrants for the shortage of jobs and housing, enacted a new immigration law this summer creating a virtual police-state network of regulations for foreign-born workers.

Such workers can now be coerced into strike-breaking, and are virtually barred—on pain of deportation—from political activity. This even extends to individuals actively supporting struggles against dictatorships in their homelands or any other countries.

It's no wonder, then, that in the 50 years since Sacco and Vanzetti were railroaded, the established opinion-moulders have striven mightily to characterize the case as a civil liberties issue. Even today, their emphasis is on whether the two anarchists got a fair trial under due process of law. (The governor of Massachusetts says maybe not, but he has been severely rebuked by his own legislature.)

All that's a black herding, though. Sacco and Vanzetti knew that the only fair trial would have been if authoritarianism was under indictment, and the only due process was the process of Social Revolution.

New blood rejuvenates CNT

Following a summer of high-impact strike actions and huge public mobilizations, Spain's anarcho-syndicalist trade union movement is now restructuring itself to accommodate its rapidly-burgeoning mass base.

The National Confederation of Labour (CNT), which emerged from the underground in May after 40 years of Franco-era clandestinity, is in the process this fall of assembling its first openly-chosen national committee.

The old 17-member national committee was put together a year ago when the CNT was still illegal, and the then total membership of only 25,000 was still strongly influenced by pre-Civil War militants and exile groups.

But now, with a total strength approaching 125,000, and the vast majority of these under the age of 30, the committee needs a new look to reflect its recent revolutionary upsurge. Since the CNT maintains a determinedly anti-bureaucratic and decentralized stance, the committee serves only as the instrument of the membership (and not vice-versa), and the selection process is fashioned to help ensure this.

A member of the outgoing committee said the process would take several weeks and involve mass meetings of

militants in all 12 regions of Spain, plus a full-time five-member secretariat to be selected by the Madrid federalists, subject to approval by referendum of the other regions.

"The national committee has the function of communication among the federations and after one year all the members, including the secretariat, must go back to their local unions," he said.

"The committee can only carry out the mandate of the unions, not take action on its own. For instance, the mandate for the past year was to abstain from any 'social pact' with the government."

The ex-national committee member said one of the main tasks of the new committee will be to plan the first open national congress of the CNT since the Civil War. The congress, probably to be held next summer, will chart the organization's future strategy for achieving its goal of libertarian communism.

More Than Busy

Meanwhile, however, the CNT is keeping more than busy with on-going workers' struggles and in building a public presence through mass rallies. Among important strikes this summer in which it played a significant role were:

- The three-month-long construction workers' strike in the traditional socialist stronghold of Asturias, which ended in July in victory for the workers, despite sabotaging efforts by some elements of the Communist Party-dominated workers' commissions.

- The strike of 30,000 hotel workers in the Costa del Sol and other sunspots in August during the height of the summer tourist season. The strike was declared illegal, and more than 100 workers were arrested, but the bosses finally coughed up a 25 per cent wage increase and other concessions.

- The mutiny in July by prisoners in 18 prisons throughout Spain. The strike, which was organized in part by CNT militants inside the walls, was put down after four days by riot police in helicopters firing tear gas, smoke bombs and rubber bullets.

In support of the prisoners' own secret organization, COPEL, the CNT established a nationwide network of amnesty committees which raised the historic anarchist demand to free all prisoners and tear down the walls of the prisons. The prisoners picked up this theme themselves after first advancing limited demands for reforms in the penal

system.

(The CNT has traditionally been an active force among "common" criminals in Spain, whereas the Communist Party militants in prison have always disdainfully stood apart, considering themselves an elite corps of "political" detainees. See the article in Spanish entitled "Points On Prison Society in Spain," by Luis Edo, in the April, 1977 Interrogations, BM Box 746, London WC1 V6XX, England).

CNT mass rallies during the summer were used as an effective counterpoint to the strike actions to reinforce the point that the organization was back on the scene and growing, and intended to reclaim its pre-war eminence as the fighting organization of two million Spanish workers.

First there was the gathering of 40,000 militants in a Madrid bull-ring in March—the first mass public manifestation of the CNT in 40 years—followed by a meeting of equal size in Valencia in May.

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Marxism and Anarchism, and Basque Nationalism vs. Proletarian Internationalism, to meet and debate with "headliners" like Noam Chomsky, Jean-Paul Sartre (allegedly a closet anarchist) and Daniel Cohn-Bendit, and to watch the American anarchist ensemble The Living Theatre.

Unlike the contending (authoritarian) unions, the CNT gets no financial support from political parties or other organizations. Funds are urgently needed from overseas. Contributions may be sent directly to Spain c/o Pedro Barrio Guazo, Banco De Bilbao, A.C.C., 18 Lopez De Hoyos #103; Madrid 2, Spain.

The CNT has established an editorial collective to exchange libertarian materials with comrades and friends from around the world. Send correspondence and exchange copies to Campo Abierto Ediciones, Concepcion Bahamonde 10, Madrid 28, Spain.

To keep up on the situation in Spain, check with News from Libertarian Spain, Box 733, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003; and the Iberian Solidarity Committee, 3934 St. Urbain, Montreal, Que. H2W 1T7.

NEW HISTORY PUBLISHED

Bookchin on Spanish anarchism

By Sam Dolgoff

The Spanish Anarchists: The Heroic Years—1868-1936, by Murray Bookchin; Free Life Editions (New York).

The Spanish Anarchists, is not, like so many other books, a mere catalogue—a calendar of events. My old friend, Murray Bookchin, analyzes the events and forces which shaped the Spanish anarchist movement in relation to the economic and social background. Years of meticulous research went into the writing of this book.

Murray writes that the "Spanish Civil War was very much part of my own life and affected me more deeply than any other conflict in a lifetime that has seen a terrible international war and decades of nearly chronic warfare that followed it." He has eminently succeeded in transmitting this feeling on every page. The result is the best survey of Spanish anarchist history in English.

I have neither the capacity nor the space to deal adequately with a work of such magnitude, and I must therefore confine my comments to a few general observations—not to provoke polemics, but to stimulate discussion. (Unless otherwise noted, the source of all quotes is Murray.)

By way of supplementing Murray's remarks on Proudhon and Bakunin: Proudhon may have to some extent been "limited by the social barriers of a craftsman and a provincial" but Proudhon also envisaged large-scale industry, and was a precursor of syndicalism and workers' self-management. Proudhon wrote:

"In future, large-scale industry and wide culture must be the fruit of association... we want associations to be the first components of a vast federation of associations... the means of production must be managed by associations of workers..." Proudhon anticipated Kropotkin's theory of Mutual Aid and the theory of building the countersociety within the "shell of the old":

"Beneath the apparatus of government," wrote Proudhon, "under the shadow of its political institutions, society was slowly and silently producing its own organization, making itself a new order which expressed its vitality and autonomy..."

Contrary to Murray's assertion that "Proudhon's emphasis was neither revolutionary, much less anarchistic," a contract voluntarily negotiated is by definition a free agreement. And free agreement is a cardinal principle of anarchism.

Bakunin's Urban Workers

Bakunin's intense concern with revolutionizing the peasants, poorest workers, oppressed racial minorities and alienated intellectuals has given rise to the erroneous impression that Bakunin paid slight attention to the problems of the industrial

proletariat in the comparatively advanced industrial nations of western Europe.

Bakunin, on the contrary, counted on the urban workers to play a leading part in radicalizing the peasants and marginal groupings. The most fruitful years of his life were dedicated to promoting the principles of a libertarian labor movement in the International. The noted Bakunin scholar, Arthur Lehning, emphasizes this:

good description of the Russian family..."

In respect to Murray's tendency to overestimate the revolutionary role of the Spanish peasantry (in the 1880's) I would suggest a more balanced assessment: If "rural folk... from a pre-capitalist life-style... the landless peasants and laborers... who gave Catalan anarchism its mass following," were indeed more revolutionary than the already urbanized proletariat; there were, on the

tendency on the part of such exclusively-organized societies in particular, to separate themselves from the masses and develop a sort of elitist leadership complex.)

The "affinity group" defined by Murray as "an organizational form based on friendship and deep personal involvement," is not simply "a remarkable achievement of Spanish anarchism." The world is honeycombed with "affinity groups", from chess clubs to anarchist propaganda groups like the

anarchists are killers and bandits and the national organ of the CNT carried an article to the same effect.)

Murray argues that "the terrorism of the Spanish anarchists was designed to provoke the Spanish bourgeoisie and undermine the stability of the social system." But Kropotkin warned that "it is not by such... acts that revolutions are made." And as Durruti matured he condemned his and his group's former terrorist tactics:

"Terrorism," Durruti declared, "must not compromise the life of the movement nor its prestige before the working class... the revolutionary practice of the Great Revolution requires other tactics—mass action, expropriation of factories, of mines, of the land... the method used will be direct action and the revolutionary general strike..."

Murray's statement that the "CNT lacked revolutionary foresight... lacked discussion of problems that might face the organization during revolutionary period," are unconsciously refuted in his text:

"The uprising of the fascists was predicted and the CNT issued a prophetic manifesto; it was in anarcho-syndicalist Barcelona that serious preparation and ef-

tive action were taken to cope with the military rebellion."

Eight Million Collectivists

Murray even calls attention to the fact that at the same time the CNT-FAI sparked a Libertarian Social Revolution affecting eight million people self-organized into rural collectives and socialized urban industries.

There is no substance whatsoever to the assertion that voting for leftist parties in the February 1936 elections to free 30,000 political prisoners led the CNT-FAI to join the republican government a few months later.

One does not have to endorse the ideas of the governmental collaborationists to take into account the tragic circumstances, which rightly or wrongly, led them to adopt this policy. Murray also refers to the "increasing bureaucratization of the CNT," but offers no evidence to support so serious an accusation. Throughout his book, Murray's statements are carefully documented.

Regretably he slipped up in this case.

In his concluding chapter, Murray makes it abundantly clear he feels that "... material want limits the forward thrusts of revolution and prevents the workers from directly organizing and controlling society... communism will be the result of abundance..." "In an interview a few years ago, I addressed myself to this problem in the following terms:

"If the realization of the socialist ideal depends on affluence and abundance, we are finished. No such thing will take place in the foreseeable future. If we cannot learn to live together in a condition of relative scarcity, anarchy... carrying out the Great Revolution requires other ethical motivations, abundance in relatively affluent countries, instead of leading to free socialism (for me a synonym for anarchism), led instead to the bourgeoisification of the proletariat and the erosion of the socialist movement."

If scarcity halted the "forward thrust of revolution," abundance made revolution itself more and more unlikely. The phenomenal productive capacity of modern technology (as Murray implies) enabled modern State capitalism (or State "socialism") to quench the fires of revolution by adopting socialistic welfare

It is just such developments which make it all the more necessary to re-examine traditional socialist theory and explore new roads to freedom. The foregoing remarks touch on themes still being debated in the anarchist movement. Murray merits high praise for posing these problems and stimulating discussion by providing adequate data—pro and con.

The Spanish Anarchists constitutes an invaluable source for all concerned with the history and impact of Spanish Anarchism.

(Sam Dolgoff is the author of, among other works, *The Anarchist Collectives: Workers' Self-Management in Spain, 1936-39* and the newly published *The Cuban Revolution: An Anarchist Perspective*.)

Murray Bookchin will reply to Sam Dolgoff's review of *THE SPANISH ANARCHISTS: THE HEROIC YEARS, 1868-1936* in the next issue (no.5) of *THE OPEN ROAD*.

The Open Road welcomes correspondence and contributions (both editorial and financial). Write to us at:
The Open Road
Box 6135, Station G
Vancouver, B.C.
Canada



Mass rally of anarcho-syndicalist CNT during Spanish Revolution.

FREE BUDDY COCHRAN

Don't watch fascism; fight it

By Mark Brothers

The California Reich. Directed by Walter Parkes and Keith Critchlow. An International Releasing Corporation Release.

Filmmakers Walter Parkes and Keith Critchlow spent three months interviewing and researching members of the National Socialist White People's Party, after convincing the nazi group they were making a supportive propaganda documentary.

What the liberal filmmakers really hoped to produce was an objective account of contemporary American fascism, unfettered by editorial comments or opposing viewpoints. The reality of the nazis, they apparently believed, would make *The California Reich* objectively anti-fascist.

But, while reality is largely spontaneous, film is organized, edited and packaged. Film cannot be objective; its entire production process is a series of subjective choices—camera angles, the sequence of events chosen, the lighting used, where the emphasis is placed.

While *The California Reich* is certainly not a pro-nazi film, it does not really confront nazism and packs even less punch than, say, such 1930's Hollywood anti-fascist non-epics as *Confessions of a Nazi Spy* and *Black Legion*.

The film does include a couple of strong scenes. The shots of four-year-olds mouthing racist shit and preparing to do battle with Blacks and Jews is particularly powerful. But what the filmmakers don't show is much more significant.

While the film ends with quotes from 1921 New York Times editorials dismissing the nazis as "comic opera... boyscouts on an outing," Parkes and Critchlow ignore their own hindsight by characterizing the nazis throughout the entire film, as a squad of Hogan's Hero-style buffoons.

They show a woman baking a nauseous looking cake decorated with a swastika made from melted licorice; a Christmas party led by a Santa with an armband; 20 or 30 jerks pledging allegiance to Hitler, storm troopers losing their swastikas and bumbling their goose steps and...

They make no attempt to seriously examine the American nazis' politics and their brutality. They don't mention nazis like the one in New Rochelle who murdered six people when he went on a shooting spree, or the one who recently killed a Chicago Jew by forcing him to inhale a poison gas used in Hitler's concentration camps. Nor do they talk about the nazis who terrorize Blacks in the Marquette Park area of Chicago, or about the racist attacks continually carried out by nazis, and other fascist groups like the Ku Klux Klan, in prisons and military bases throughout the United States.

The filmmakers don't show any of the nazis' political discussions on tactics or fascist theory (if indeed they have any theory). To them, the nazis are just goofy psychopaths, suffering from "loneliness" or some other personal malaise. Like most good liberals, Critchlow and Parkes regard political extremists (either left or right) as psychologically-crippled individuals rather than as people involved in a social/economic phenomenon.

While the filmmakers recognize the psychosis of the nazis, they also consider them to be largely "ordinary" Americans. And much of their racism is common in a country that boasts an imbedded national legacy of white supremacy. One nazi in the film says that the other workers at a warehouse where he is employed are "sneaky nazis... they could really be something... they'd really be the cruel ones."

The filmmakers version of "ordinary Americans" is just a short step from what Anita Bryant calls the "normal majority." When new leftist activists slackened in the early 1970's, Nixon had hoped to drive American consciousness back to pre-sixties values. Watergate stopped him. Now Nixon's "silent majority" has become Bryant's sexist, jingoistic, anti-intellectual, white supremacist, anti-semitic "normal majority."

Because of the "abnormalities" of the past few years, (military defeat, the feminist and gay movements, Black struggles, hip culture, freer sexuality, disintegration of the family unit), the pre-sixties middle class finds itself a less dynamic cultural and economic force. As a reaction against these changes, the far right has emerged as a growing, vocal, organized defender of the family, the death penalty, right-to-work laws, opponent of busing, the equal rights amendment, abortion and gays. Already it has won the repeal of the gay rights ordinance in Dade County, Florida, and cut off Medicaid that poor women needed for abortions.

Much of the right's activities are organized by election-oriented groups like the National Conservative Political Action Committee and the Committee for Survival of a Free Congress (which claims 121 members of congress in its camp), or single issue groups such as Bryant's Save Our Children and the numerous Right-to-Life organizations.

There is a mutually-reinforcing relationship between these "respectable" rightists and the fascists who maintain a subversive image (nazis, KKKs). The larger, respectable oriented organizations provide a potential mass base for the openly fascist groups who, in turn, often act as the fighting shock troops in campaigns around such issues as busing.

In *The California Reich*, a nazi, who is a sergeant in the U.S. army, comments, "I'd give anything if my green uniform had a swastika on it." Both the nazi and the filmmakers missed the point: he's already wearing the



British anti-fascists take control of streets and disrupt march of neo-Nazi National Front in Lewisham, London, in August.

green uniform. While the American government acts as though it barely tolerates the nazis, it is more than willing to use them as storm troopers to intimidate "subversives." Just note that during the recent battles between English anti-fascists and the fascist National Front, thousands of police rallied around in defense of the Front. One should also note that the English comrades stopped the fascists from marching and injured 115 cops in the process.

The sole purpose of the fascists is to grow to the point where they can carry out their genocidal pigshit, and to smash them, all us abnormal LeFists, Freaks, Prisoners, Gays, Feminists, Jews, Indians, Blacks and other Third World People—have to join together and kick their ass wherever they show up. As Hitler conceded, "only one thing could have stopped our movement—if our adversaries had understood its principle and, from the first day, had smashed

with the utmost brutality the nucleus of our new movement."

People have begun to fight the new fascist movement in America as well. In Chicago anti-nazi coalitions organized large rallies which have stopped nazi marches; when nazis attacked demonstrators picking their Chicago headquarters, four nazis and a cop were hospitalized; a San Francisco nazi bookstore was sacked and burned by people from

the Jewish community; in July two nazis were killed (one Black also died) in battles between nazis and Black Muslims in San Quentin prison; a July 4th Columbus, Ohio, Klan rally was scuttled when it was attacked by demonstrators; and, also in July, Buddy Cochran, a white southerner, drove his car into the midst of a Plains, Georgia, KKK rally, injuring 32.

Let a thousand Buddy Cochrans start their engines

There's a rumour going 'round

By Frankie Lee

"I met people... their strength, humour and memory moved me... this collection of musical workings is dedicated to those Canadians who struggled with natural disaster, a collapsing system, pathetic leadership into the great depression and through a world war... and survived!"

That's what the music on Perth County Conspiracy's (does not exist) *Ten Lost Years and Then Some* is all about—survival (according to musician Cedric Smith who worked on the project). Released in the fall of 1976 by rural Ontario's homegrown Rumour Records, the album contains music originally written for the play, *Ten Lost Years*, which was in turn adapted from Barry Broadfoot's book of the same name. The music by Perth County Conspiracy (does not exist) accompanied dramatizations of Broadfoot's interviews with survivors of the depression years from 1930 to 1940 in Canada.

The album's liner notes quote Canadian folk-hero Norman Bethune, himself a participant of both the Spanish and Chinese revolutions—"The function of the artist is to disturb. His duty is to arouse the sleepers, to shake the complacent pillars of the world." PCCdne's poetic lyrics and use of instruments such as the mandolin, violin, autoharp and psaltry reach the listener not through the

intellect but through the images and feelings they convey.

The music reflects the ambiguity of the people's response to the bad times, which few understood and many had to bear passively: "Mama said we can't stay no more/Got to leave the land, clove and lock the door/Leave our friends, pack and move away/Maybe we'll all come back some day."

Although not specifically in the tradition of social protest, the album makes effective use of the documentary-drama mode—an attempt to create a popular culture by listening to people, gathering their experience and returning it to them in words and music.

Drought, dust storms, few jobs and pay cuts for those lucky enough to be working all took their toll in the Depression years. Sometimes the radio was the only diversion: "Hey, hey it's fantasy radio hour/Time to wear those tears away/We'll help you smile, laugh and forget/You won't even notice you've a smaller pay cheque."

Though there was little chance a social revolution would end the miseries of the Depression, one of the album's weaknesses is its failure to portray the individual and collective struggles that did take place. Strikes occurred in the relief camps, and the album makes no mention of the On-to-Ottawa trek, in which thousands of jobless people rode the rails

across the country to demonstrate in front of the Parliament Buildings. The trek ended with a bloody confrontation between unemployed workers and the RCMP, who arrested ringleaders in Regina and met the surviving trekkers in Ottawa armed with riot equipment. Scores of arrests, injuries to many and the death of one policeman were the final results.

But in the end it was neither the actions of the farmers and workers nor the government which ended the Depression, but the start of the war in Europe. "The freight cars were rough/sure had enough/Of soup lines and taking the dole /And the mad dogs of Europe barked at the moon/And we're lining up to go."

The other side of the album is similar in style, but reflects the more characteristic subject matter and style of PCCdne. A blend of poetry, folk and country music, and politics, the selections range from "Pentagon Squares," a commemoration and celebration of the U.S. defeat in Southeast Asia, to "Harvey's Song," written about an old farmer-friend.

The album is a product of an actor/musician/humourist Cedric Smith, and his deep roots in the culture of rural Southwestern Ontario, also home to the musicians of the infamous PCCdne (whose existence is still in dispute). PCCdne grew out of the cultural interactions of

people moving back-to-the-land in Perth County and those already established around the Stratford Shakespearean festival and the Black Swan coffee house—home to what its longtime proprietor calls an "anarcho-socio-politico-musical and creative madness."

The exact number of PCCdne has never been determined, but with Rumour Records they have produced five earlier recordings in various combinations and permutations, as well as performing across Canada.

Says PCCdne oldtimer Harry Finlay: "Rumour Records has attempted to bring the best creative work of really conscientious artists to a public generally poorly served." He notes that PCCdne's financial success has been in direct proportion to its willingness to deal with big record companies, like Columbia, and large-scale distributors, who would have nothing to do with a home-grown product like Rumour.

"We were never out to make money," says Finlay, "but the fact that distributors are happier selling 100,000 each of ten albums by 'international' acts, rather than 1,000 albums each by 1,000 Canadian artists was rudely brought home to us."

Working Class Nationalism PCCdne and Rumour Records tried to promote a particular cultural ambience

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Italy

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movement. In pursuit of this goal, it calls on workers and the poor to sacrifice their own interests "to enrich the nation," and it denounces any attempts to crush any autonomous activity as unjustifiable, corporative, individualistic and even the work of fascist provocateurs.

Not much difference to 68 when the conservatives "hammered the "rebels that are subverting the mass of students who want to study seriously." This from a party which, in its revolutionary days, enjoyed more than a

nodding acquaintance with the libertarian impulses of Antonio Gramsci.

The CP, in its role as the "new police", has pushed mightily toward the development of a high-security State in Italy, modelled after the West German "Strong State." A whole new series of repressive measures has been imposed in response to the initiatives of the new movement, as well as to those of the guerrilla groups, such as the Red Brigades and the Armed Proletarian Nuclei, which more-and-more are acting in concert with the mass movement.

Among the new measures

are restrictions of individual liberties, political black-listing, intimidation of public employees and revocation of anti-inflationary wage index guarantees. Old fascist laws have been revived and new fascist ones have been enacted, giving the police the power to arrest anyone suspected of "undemocratic political intentions," and virtually printing up for them a license to kill on the pretext of a "temporary extension of the official duties of the constitutional forces whose function is to guarantee domestic order."

The new movement took something of a breather over the summer while school was

out, and it's now gearing up for the fall-winter cycle of mobilizations. But it remains to be seen whether it can continue to intensify the struggle in the face of a better prepared State apparatus and a more determined Left take-over bid, or whether it will be co-opted as just another "protest" campaign.

Appeal to Workers

The Italian anarchist monthly *A-rivista anarchica* has counselled the autonomia to "widen, consolidate and clarify the revolutionary area" before trying to push the struggle into an insurrectionary phase. This means

of line. The key to the official response is to avoid mass busts where possible, so as to deny the protesters their publicity.

Lacking an alternative plan for militant action, the Live Without Trident protesters couldn't get themselves arrested for love or money once their initial demand for the right to leaflet and picket was met. A similar tactic was used by the police in Washington, D.C., during a Yippie smoke-in in July, when 500 stoned-out freaks showed up at the copshop and demanded to be arrested, only to be ignored.

As the anarchist critic of Clamshell notes: "The whole thing (Seabrook occupation) was nice and orderly, a media event, an appeal to ruling class sympathies. . .

"Direct action means you're not asking anyone for favors, you're taking things into your own hands. Unless the consciousness and methodology predominant in the Clamshell Alliance are defeated, direct action will never be a part of the anti-nuclear movement here."

Critics of the Clamshell and Live Without Trident approach point out that the authorities are starting to figure out how to effectively contain mass peaceful protests and deflect them into

Inuit

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triggered a near revolt in late summer and early fall in the land 1,000 miles north of Montreal, where English is seen as the "language of opportunity," with the result that Quebec civil servants were summarily "deported" by the local population, and a Mountie riot squad had to be shipped in to keep the lid on.

In Greenland, the 50,000 (a majority) Inuit and mixed Inuit-Danes have been waging a campaign for island autonomy which is expected to result in a home-rule charter by next year.

The situation of the Siberian Inuit is a mystery. Of all the national groupings they are the only ones whose population (estimated at less than 5,000) is not increasing rapidly. The Soviets have cut them off from contact with their kin-folk, and it's safe to assume their cultural aspirations are not being respected.

In the Northwest Territories of Canada, where native people are still in a majority, the 17,000 Inuit have staked claims to one-fifth of the Canadian land mass, about 750,000 square miles plus another 800,000 square miles of polar sea and islands.

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drawing in the southern half of the country and also broadening the mass base to include far larger numbers of regularly employed workers in all regions.

The autonomia have some hard political decisions ahead. They need to get organized (maybe federated is a better word), and they need to decide on some political goals; their one attempt at a political program involving self-management of the universities was still-born once the occupations ended.

The new movement's anti-politics, which has been one of its main assets up to now, tends to put a damper on this sort of activity. "There is no

need to have objectives," one autonomia is quoted as saying, "because when you have objectives that means the movement is already on the point of dying. Besides there's the risk of actually achieving them."

"If you start to ask what you want of life as soon as you leave your mother's body, you'd be old after six months."

(Thanks to many Italian comrades who supplied information and insights for this article. For a fascinating review in English of published materials on the new movement, write to Isaac Cronin, Box 14221, San Francisco, Calif. 94114).



Italy: action in the streets.

Anarchy

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crushing state power and replacing it with a co-operative, free society.

Of course the party, they insist, represents—the proletariat, and just what it dictates is never really made clear. Instead of the dictatorship of the proletariat the anarchists propose the mass commune. Anarchists look to a society in which real decision making involves every one who lives in it—a mass commune, not a few discipline freaks pulling the strings on a so-called "proletarian" dictatorship. While Marxists claim that this dictatorship is necessary in order to crush bourgeois counter-revolutions, anarchists feel that such a centralized State apparatus is a much easier target for opponents of the revolution than is an array of decentralized communes.

And these communes would remain armed and prepared to defend the revolution against anyone who militarily moves against it.

We don't need the M-L's authoritarian solutions, but to much of the left the choice

has appeared to be anarchic chaos or M-L organization, however authoritarian. But anarchism as an ideology provides feasible organizational structures which, if utilized, could be the basis for organizations just as solid as those of the M-L's; only these organizations would be egalitarian.

Anarchism isn't confined to the ideas of a specific theoretician and it allows individual creativity to develop in collective groupings. Not being cultist, it encourages a great deal of innovation, prompting its adherents to respond realistically to contemporary conditions.

The anarchist goal of total freedom isn't being stymied by the theory. It is, however, being obstructed by those of its adherents who feel that organization, political commitment and activity are somehow evil. They aren't; they're necessary and in no way counterposed to anarchism. We must build an organized, co-ordinated international movement aimed at transforming the globe into a mass commune.

Rumour

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that they acknowledge is close to nationalism—not the kind that extolls the virtues of the RCMP or the building of the railroad, but one that has attempted to reclaim and preserve the history of workers and farmers.

"We found that it's a cultural wasteland out there," says Finlay. "Not just in Canada, mind you, in North America in general. It's just that our rich world to the south insists that we go down the tube with them—92 per cent of records produced in this country are not by

Canadian artists." Finlay notes bitterly that a recording made by PCDCne during an East German music festival sold more copies in Europe than any of their records in Canada. But, after a brief skirmish with Columbia Records, Finlay is still convinced the best route for Canadian musicians is to go it alone.

For a catalogue, contact Rumour Records, Box 173, Stratford, Ontario. Records cost \$5.00, plus 50¢ handling charge.

Nukes

continued from p. 5

committee had overstepped its mandate. There was to be no open occupation at Seabrook, the coordinating committee informed us."

Clamshell's Rules

The Clamshell organizers then issued an "Occupiers Handbook" which listed a

series of obligatory rules, including that all occupiers must undergo Clamshell non-violent training, and that there was to be no damage of the nuke site and no running, movement after dark or breaking through police lines.

The training included role-playing in how to identify "provocateurs" (i.e., fence-cutters) and turn them over to the police. As well, everyone was warned they would be cut off from Clamshell legal help if they stepped out

Books Received

How It All Began, Bommi Baumann, Pulp Press, PO Box 48806, Station Bentall, Vancouver, British Columbia, \$3.50.

A personal account of the rise of the West German New Left and its urban guerrilla underground. Its German edition was suppressed on release. Translated from the German by Helene Ellenbogen and Wayne Parker.

The I.W.W.: Its First Seventy Years (1905-1975), by Fred W. Thomas and Patrick Muffin, Industrial Workers of the World, 752 W. Webster St., Chicago, Illinois 60614, \$4.95. This is a reprint of an earlier volume giving the history of the IWW up to 1955, with a new chapter describing its history since then in the workplace and university struggles of the sixties and seventies.

The Revolution Is Dead: Long Live the Revolution, ed. by the 70's, 180 Lockhart Road, 1/f., Hong Kong. This book is a collection of essays with a variety of ultra-left perspectives including some from within China itself. The 70's is a libertarian group from Hong Kong which include many former Red Guards.

Japan: Five Stages of Capitalist Development & the Nation's Future and Mushrooming Empire: A Bicentennial Approach, Harvest Publishers, 907 Santa Barbara St., Santa Barbara, California 93101, \$1.50 individual, bulk discounts. These two pamphlets are the first in a series. They deal with the history and economic situations of Japan and the U.S.

News from Neaden, 22 Fleet Road, London NW3 2QS. This is a useful listing of the addresses of bookstores and left publishers throughout Europe and the anglophone world.

Durruti: The People Armed, Abel Paz, Black Rose Books, 3934 St. Urbain, Montreal,

131, Quebec, and Free Life Editions, 41 Union Sq. W., New York, New York 10003, \$4.95.

This is a biography of Buena-ventura Durruti, one of the most "influential Spanish militants," whose story epitomizes the history of the Spanish Revolution.

Society and Its Discontents: The Revolt Against Work, by John Zerzan, Mutualist Books, Box 1283, Rochester, New York 14603, \$1.00. This pamphlet contains articles previously published in the *Fifth Estate* and elsewhere, detailing the revolt against production and union demands to dominate and channel the struggles into economist demands. The first article offers a new perspective on the Luddites.

Nuclear Power, by John J. Berger, Ramparts Press, Palo Alto, California 94303, \$4.50.

A critical look at the energy alternatives with information about the dangers, economics, politics and techniques of nuclear power.

A Fist and The Letter: Revolutionary Poetry of Latin America, Pulp Press, Box 48806, Station Bentall, Vancouver, British Columbia, \$3.50.

This book presents the work of twenty-one poets, from nine Latin American countries, in a dual-language edition. Translation by Roger Prentice and John Kin.

The Iron Fist and Velvet Glove, Centre for Research on Criminal Justice, Box 4373, Berkeley, California 94704, \$3.50 plus 25¢ postage and handling. This book draws together for the first time information that documents the development of the U.S. police from night watchmen to modern paramilitary organization. It shows that the transformation of the police is directly linked to the development of capitalism, class conflict and racial oppression.

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"Our laughter has been
honed by adversity till it
gleams like an ax."
—Marge Piercy